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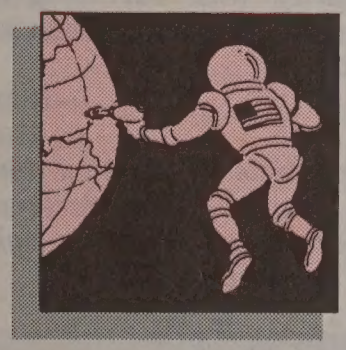
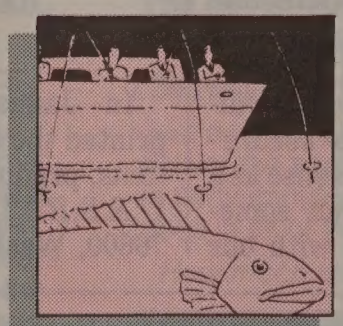
What's Ahead



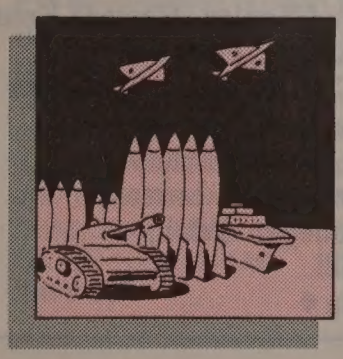
THE SPACE RACE

"The conflict in Congress over Star Wars will be 'a circus, a real fight.' " ■ **Page 10**



THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

"With the first primaries approaching, the scramble for peace movement support is picking up speed." ■ **Page 7**



THE DEADLY CONNECTION

"Debate grows between those who tie the nuclear arms race to intervention and those who would keep the issues separate." ■ **Page 11**

·NUCLEAR·
TIMES

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Letters

The Eastern Front

It is good to learn a bit more about the all important "other side" in the disarmament issue. The article "The View From The East" in the January issue provided some valuable information about the role of independent peace movements in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany. Every attempt was also made to relate increased repression of these groups to NATO Euromissile deployment, as if the usual state repression of basic human rights was tolerable.

A different view from the East comes from an anonymous Czech Charter 77 member (*Czechoslovak Newsletter* July/Aug '82). The final words of the letter: "As long as your peace movement does not come up with a program calling for a balanced world view, for parity in democratic rights and freedoms, for neutralizing the political police, and for controlling repressive acts committed by the state, you will be seen marching on Czechoslovak television screens merely as impractical cranks whose lives are too easy, and as people who deserve to 'enjoy' real socialism as soon as possible."

It is time the Western peace movement becomes evenhanded and therefore credible. It is also time to show strong solidarity with our fledgling counterparts in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

—Ron Blackmore
Madison, N.Y.

(The article in question does point out that Charter 77 has "declared the struggle for peace and human rights to be one and the same."—Eds.)

Business Talk

In this year alone, the Reagan administration plans to spend almost a quarter of a trillion dollars on our national security. And yet, to borrow a phrase from candidate Reagan, few of us feel more "secure" than we did four years ago. My sense as a business executive tells me that something is fundamentally wrong with our investment strategy.

The 1984 elections, previewed in *Nuclear Times'* January issue, may be our most important in a generation. As the nation's only nonpartisan trade association representing the national security interests of America's 13 million businesses, Business Executives for National Security is uniquely well-qualified to begin redefining the terms of America's ongoing national security debate. In the coming year the BENS program of organizing congressional districts and influencing those seeking office and those already seated (coupled with the BENS Education Fund's research and public education plans) will bring these issues before the American people with the kind of business sense and common sense that politicians cannot afford to ignore. In 1984, when business talks, candidates will listen.

—Stanley A. Weiss
Business Executives for
National Security
Washington, D.C.

Press Soviets

The breakdown of the INF [Intermediate Nuclear Forces] and START talks will open the gates for an accelerated arms race. It's imperative that leaders of the peace movement now press the Soviets to return to the bargaining table, even if previous negotiations were a charade. This is crucial for two reasons:

1) Unless they are renewed, there is *no* hope for heading off the arms race and the danger from the proliferation of first-strike weapons like the Pershing 2.

2) If the American and European peace movements remain silent while the Soviets augment *their* missile forces (SS-20s, etc.), as they've warned they will, it will lend credence to the right's claim that "peaceniks" only want to block Allied armament, not the Soviets'. To retain credibility, peace activists must protest *both*.

—Saul Schindler
Hewlett, N.Y.

In January's Resources, we misprinted the address of Ideal Communications, producer of the videotape *U.S. vs, U.S.S.R.*. The correct address is PO Box 76600, Washington, DC 20013.

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The essence of bad business can be found in this chart.

"It only takes a minute to look at the Nuclear Weapons Chart, but the knowledge could lengthen your life."

—Spencer Johnson, M.D., author of *The One Minute Manager*

If you were a shareholder of a corporation that was diverting 40% of its operation into a hair-trigger "security" system (and the U.S. Department of Defense budget for 1984-88 calls for spending a billion dollars a day!), wouldn't you demand to know: *Who's in charge here?*

THE TRIMTAB FACTOR examines our nuclear arms policy as a case study in *corporate mismanagement*. It is a policy that America's business leaders are uniquely qualified to correct, says Harold Willens: "Business people are trained to look at economic realities and apply common sense. They ask the bottom-line question:

"Does it work?"

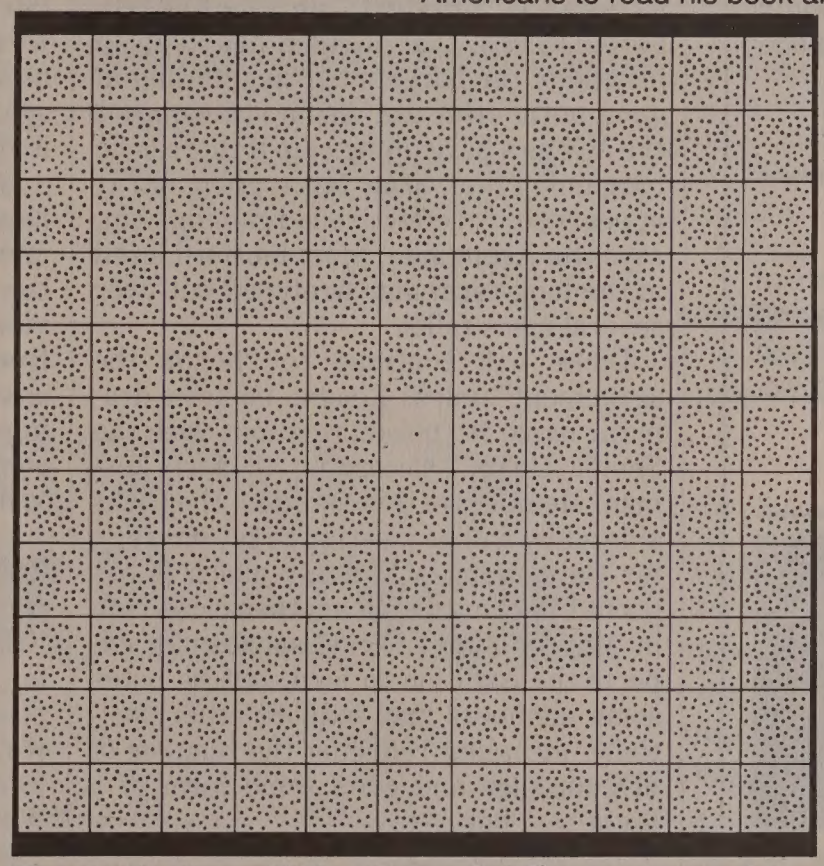
As a security system, our nuclear policy imperils us. Pentagon tests of its control center showed its computers *failed 62% of the time.* False alarms have been set off by a rising moon, a faulty 46¢ computer part, a wargame tape.

As a "deterrent," it's the reverse. Preemptive first-strike weapons systems (such as the MX missile) increase the temptation to "launch on warning"—elevating the chance of war through electronic error.

As an "investment," the arms race has contributed significantly to America's economic decline. Every billion dollars spent for military purposes *generates one-third fewer jobs* than the same billion spent in the civilian industrial sector. The obvious business answer:

"Come up with a plan. Do it."

In THE TRIMTAB FACTOR, Harold Willens, a successful businessman and chairman of the California Bilateral Nuclear Freeze Initiative, offers a plan that will allow the United States to break the momentum of the arms race *without* sacrificing national security. "Freed from the devastating burden that robs us *and* the Soviet Union of vital productivity," he writes, "both sides could address common problems and still compete in the marketplace. *It is a competition we can win.* And the business community—the trimtab factor*—*must* lead the way."



The dot in the middle: the aerial firepower used to defeat all our enemies in World War II.

The rest? Just thank God this is still the day before.

Just one MX missile will deliver the same firepower in thirty minutes as we used in all of World War II.

The total firepower contained in the world's nuclear arsenals today is represented by the other 6,000 dots.

How much more firepower do we need for deterrence?

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—William E. Colby, Former Director of the CIA

"A superb, unprecedented effort to inform American business executives that the nuclear arms race is not only absorbing their profits but is also reversible if only we apply good management sense. I heartily recommend it." **—Senator Mark O. Hatfield**

"Harold Willens was first sensitized to the horror of nuclear war as a young Marine intelligence officer at Hiroshima. I urge all Americans to read his book and to join in the effort to end the nuclear arms race before it ends the human race."
—Senator Edward M. Kennedy

"No American should ignore this twentieth-century Paul Revere's call to positive action." **—Major General William T. Fairbourn, United States Marine Corps (ret.)**

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"Marvelously clear and concise...Harold Willens has spotlighted the essential issue; we must all, individually and collectively, assume responsibility for the nuclear weapons we have created, or there will be *no* future. And, we can make the difference!"
—Russell L. Schweickart, Astronaut, government official

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Early Warnings

MX FOREVER?: About a year ago, MX opponents had high hopes that the missile would face rough going in Congress. Then came the creation of a coalition of liberal House Democrats, led by Les Aspin, Albert Gore Jr. and Norman Dicks, that cut a deal with President Reagan. Reagan got the MX, and Aspin *et al* received the Midgetman missile and Reagan promises of greater flexibility in Geneva. How does that coalition, which won the last MX House vote by only nine votes, stand now, as Congress prepares for yet another round on the MX?

Though there's been some talk of slippage, the deal still seems on—that is, the gang of three are not backing away from it. Aspin is "satisfied," an aide told NUCLEAR TIMES, that Reagan has kept up his end of the bargain by "negotiating in good faith." But can Aspin still support the MX as a bargaining chip if there is no bargaining (i.e., arms talks) going on? It appears so. An effective bargaining chip, says the Aspin aide, must be considered in the long-term and stretched out over several arms talks.

Dicks will continue to "honor the agreement" unless Reagan makes a dramatic move "to poison relations with the Soviet Union," according to a spokesman. Members of this coalition, the Dicks aide adds, will be meeting to set strategy for the coming MX fight, which is expected to climax with another close vote in May or June. Dicks' spokesman expects the coalition to hold, but he notes some members may explore other positions, including reducing the number of MX missiles and even some form of a flight test ban.

NEW TWIST ON "FATE": In *The Fate of the Earth*, Jonathan Schell insisted that the only solution to the nuclear predicament was world government. But in "The Abolition," a two-part article in *The New Yorker* (January 2 and 9), Schell offers what amounts to a revised ending of his influential book. Rejecting world government as perhaps desirable, but profoundly undesired, Schell draws on the virtues of deterrence to propose a new scenario for abolishing nuclear weapons. He calls it "weaponless deterrence"—a system whereby, after negotiations, nations would dismantle their nuclear arsenals but, by mutual consent, retain some of their capacity to rebuild them.

The proposal takes what seems most discouraging—the fact that one can never "uninvent" the Bomb—and makes it a virtue. With everyone in readiness to rearm, no one would bother trying to, Schell argues: "Factory would deter factory, blueprint would deter blueprint." Nations would still threaten each other with annihilation—but the "lead time" of the holocaust would be extended from minutes to weeks or months. Any country that cheated and built a few bombs would be deterred from attacking another nuclear power by the knowledge that retaliation could be massive (if somewhat delayed).

The agreement would have several back-ups. "Limited and balanced" conventional arms would serve only for defense (thus preventing a new, conventional arms race). The balance of power would be equalized (*any* nuclear-capable nation could "deter"). And defenses against weapons would be allowed a limited role as "a hedge against cheating."

Schell offers the proposal as a badly needed long-term goal for the peace movement (whose political program has been "modest and tentative") and to provide a context for such first steps as a freeze and reductions. Whether he fully answers the problem of potential cheating will surely be debated as, once again, copies of Schell's *New Yorker* articles start circulating within the movement.

REAGAN CHOOSES WW III: When recently asked by *The New York Times* to name the most important book he read for work and the best book he read for pleasure in 1983, Ronald Reagan replied with a list of three books—David Lamb's *The Africans*, Joanna Stratton's *Pioneer Women* and John Hackett's novel, *The Third World War: August 1985*.

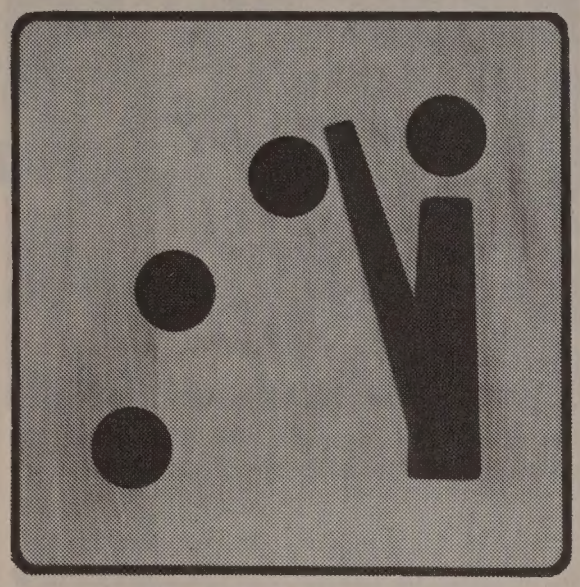
In his novel (originally published in 1978), Hackett, a former commander of NATO's Northern Army Group, outlines the next conflict—which pits West against East in a limited nuclear war. Hackett predicts that a Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia (on July 27, 1985, specifically) touches off a nuclear war. But it's not the end of the world. The Soviets issue the first nuclear shot, vaporizing Birmingham, England. The United States responds by blasting Minsk. In the meantime, the Soviet Union experiences a coup, which signals the end of Communism and Soviet expansionism. The war ends with the United States the winner, able to *enforce* global peace.

What President Reagan failed to mention was whether he read this book for work or pleasure—or both.

WARMAKING TO PACEMAKING?: Leading the nation's universities in funds received for military research, Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore has recently come under fire from faculty members and local antinuclear activists. They maintain that the university's Applied Physics Laboratory (APL), with its $230 million-plus budget—primarily for Naval research—is helping to develop guidance systems for advanced cruise missiles and the Trident II (D-5) missile. Last December several members of the Johns Hopkins community, including professor of psychology Jerome Frank, joined in a call for conversion at a rally sponsored by the Maryland Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze and other groups.

A small portion of the lab's budget, about 15 percent, according to Edward Cochran, assistant to the APL's director, is for nonmilitary research, and includes about 50 biomedical projects for the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, including work on pacemakers, pumps and other implantable devices. But will the antinuclear groups have any effect on what the lab does? "I would think not," says Cochran. He notes it would be possible to convert to more medical research, but quickly adds that the mix the lab has now best serves the public interest.

Don Blumberg of the Campaign for the Conversion of Johns Hopkins APL says that his group has recently sent a series of demands to the university's president Steven Muller, who agreed to meet with the group. The demands include stopping all nuclear weapons-related research and development, halting expansion of APL's present budget, and immediately discontinuing all research and development on the D-5 missile system.



Doomsday clock: As time goes by

LATER THAN YOU THINK DEPT: Last month one of the most prominent and telling symbols of the arms control movement, the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*' "Doomsday Clock," moved another notch closer to Armageddon—from four minutes before midnight to three. The last time the clock moved—and it has only moved 12 times since 1947—was in 1981 when it jumped from 11:53 to 11:56 p.m.

In an editorial explaining its decision, the magazine cites the acceleration of the arms race and the "almost complete breakdown of communication between the superpowers" as the reasons to shave off another minute. The clock has only been closer to midnight once before, when it stood at 11:58 from 1953 to 1960.

The decision to move the clock began with the magazine's editors, who then sought agreement from its board of directors and its sponsors—a global collection of scientists. Ruth Adams, the *Bulletin*'s editor, reports there was not one dissenting voice. (A proposal to edge the clock closer to midnight a year ago did not draw a clear vote in its favor.) There was even a suggestion to change the time to 11:58, but the *Bulletin*, Adams says, didn't want the move "to be construed as a counsel of despair." And the magazine does strike one positive note—that millions around the world are now aroused against the arms race. "It's the most hopeful thing we can say," adds Adams.

MAJOR LEAGUE PITCH: The League of

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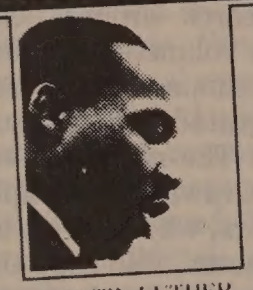

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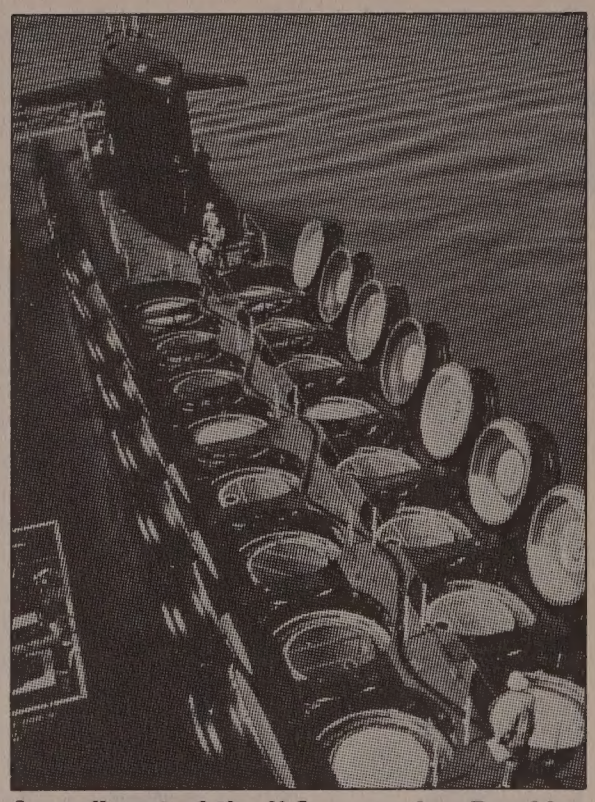
Women Voters, an organization widely known for its sponsorship of presidential debates, doesn't endorse candidates and has never taken a stand on the arms race. Recently, however, the League announced its support for a nuclear weapons freeze, a comprehensive test ban, an antisatellite ban, and its opposition to the deployment of space weapons that violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The League, which has 111,000 members, is in the midst of a two-year period of education and examination of arms-related issues. It has conducted seminars on the arms race for most of its 1197 local chapters and has polled its members in order to reach a consensus on its arms stand. According to Lenore Chester, president of the New York City League, the endorsements mean that local chapters will join antinuclear coalition efforts and that the national office will lobby Congress with other national groups on these weapon issues. "The League's reputation of fairness and accuracy," she adds, "will help the freeze movement seem more mainstream."

WARHEAD COUNT: In the past it has not been easy to find information on the exact shape, size and form of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Many of the specifics are veiled in secrecy. But a new 340-page study just released goes a long way toward uncovering the U.S. nuclear stockpile by providing an accounting of the entire U.S. arsenal. According to *U.S. Nuclear Forces and Capabilities*, written by military researchers Thomas Cochran, Milton Hoenig and William Arkin (and published by Ballinger), the U.S. nuclear arsenal of 26,000 warheads is currently composed of 24 types. The smallest nuclear warhead is a portable land mine, which weighs only 58.5 pounds, and the largest is the four-ton W53 warhead (with an explosive power of nine megatons) found on a Titan II missile.

The report, the first of eight volumes on worldwide nuclear weapons collectively titled the *Nuclear Weapons Databook*, reveals that an "estimated 19 new warhead types and approximately 30,000 warheads will enter an expanding arsenal through the early 1990s." The study, based on open sources, also found:



A small part of the U.S. arsenal: a Poseidon submarine (from NRDC *Databook*)

—Each working day, when the arms production system is at full capacity, eight warheads are produced while about five are retired.

—Over the next 15 years, virtually the entire arsenal will be replaced by newer, more efficient, higher-yield warheads. And at least 16 new warhead types are now in research and development.

—Each new nuclear warhead costs between $1 million and $3.5 million.

And a new 400-page report, *The Nuclear Weapons Industry*, issued by the Washington, D.C.-based Investor Responsibility Research Center, notes that Boeing, Lockheed and Rockwell International lead the way in receiving contracts for nuclear weapons and their primary support systems. The IRRC study, long-awaited by groups filing shareholder resolutions, details the nuclear-related activities of 26 leading corporations in the field. It concludes that because a nuclear buildup is now in full swing, a freeze would severely affect these companies, whereas in 1981, a freeze would have caused relatively limited economic hardship.

GET YOUR SCORECARD: How many allies does the antinuclear movement have in Congress? Well, it seems that there are more true enemies than friends. According to the Council for a Livable World's 1983 voting record index, only seven senators tallied a 100 percent rating on a series of 13 weapons-related votes—but 22 senators rated goose eggs. The seven with perfect scores are Spark Matsunaga, Paul Sarbanes, Paul Tsongas, Carl Levin, Donald Riegle, Claiborne Pell and William Proxmire. Several other senators, including Edward Kennedy, received perfect ratings for the instances when they did vote but failed to show for every vote in the series. In the House, 136 rated zero and 68 hit 100. On the average, the Senate ended the 1983 season at 42 percent, and the House, 45 percent.

SUMMER JOB: This summer several thousand students in up to 10 cities will be knocking on front doors and peddling their wares. But they won't be pushing encyclopedias or magazine subscriptions—they will be presenting arguments against the nuclear arms race, interventionism, and high military spending, all at no cost.

Plans for Peace with Justice Summer, modeled somewhat on Mississippi Summer of 1961, and now being organized by a growing coalition of groups (including Jobs with Peace, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and several Public Interest Research Groups), call for 5000 students to volunteer varying amounts of time this summer to canvass and take an integrated, multi-issue agenda door-to-door. The main motive, says organizer Neta Crawford, is simply education, but planners, who have set up a clearinghouse in Boston, also hope the canvassing will strengthen local organizations.

These efforts, Crawford notes, will take place only in cities that host a large student population, an ailing economy, local peace and justice groups willing to work with the project, and "interesting" congressional races. Although voter registration is not part of the program, Crawford says, Peace with Justice Summer is considering sponsoring its campaigns in cities that boast one or more voter registration drives. Two cities noted as possible sites for the campaign: Milwaukee and Atlanta. □

Blips

NUCLEAR TIMES will present its first TV show, a live "town meeting" on nuclear war on March 8 in Manhattan *(see Calendar)* . . . . The **World Policy Institute** is spending $1 million over the next three years on its "Security Project," which will develop a new, integrated set of U.S. economic, political and military policies based on 48 studies it has commissioned. The "First Report" will be issued in May, with an extensive education program to follow . . . . Final assembly work is underway at Rockwell International's Palmdale, California, facility on the first **B-1b bomber**, set to make its first flight in December . . . . **Roger Molander** has left his post as executive director of Ground Zero to become president of the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies, a think tank in Washington, D.C. . . . . A survey, recently released by ABC-TV, shows that contrary to expectations, only 2 percent of those who watched **The Day After** feel that it supported the antinuclear movement—and 1 percent thought it favored a weapons buildup . . . . **Representative Edward Markey**, a leading freeze backer, is now running for the Massachusetts Senate seat being vacated by Paul Tsongas . . . . The **Defense Intelligence Agency** was running up a bill of $25,000 a *month* for calls placed from its offices to a New York City "Dial-a-Porn" service until an electronic block was installed, according to a Defense Department inspector general study.

Introduction

Two years ago the movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear war was just gaining momentum. Since then the community of individuals and groups working to reverse the arms race has come of age, and continues to attract new support. Now it is being challenged by new issues and fresh opportunities.

Three such issues and opportunities stand out right now. Where two years ago the freeze movement was collecting signatures to place nonbinding referenda on the ballot in several states, today Freeze Voter '84 (and many other arms control groups) are about to participate in a presidential race. Where two years ago sights were set clearly on down-to-earth weapons, today many are actively opposing an arms race in outer space. And where in 1982 the freeze and most other arms control efforts were largely single-focus in outlook, today there is growing sentiment that the "deadly connection" between nuclear weapons and conventional war should be made more explicit. On these pages we examine these new issues and opportunities which will grow in importance in the months ahead.□

PRESIDENTIAL RACE

Candidates Vie For Peace Votes

It's been a while since a presidential race has boasted so many "peace" candidates. While all eight Democratic contenders—and President Reagan—proudly proclaim their desire for peace and progress on arms control, several of the candidates are actually courting antinuclear activists, seeking campaign volunteers, financial support, endorsements and, of course, votes.

Much of this activity has centered in the crucial early primary states—notably Iowa and New Hampshire—where Walter Mondale, Alan Cranston, Gary Hart, George McGovern and the Reverend Jesse Jackson are all competing to win peace movement backing. Last November Mondale canvassed door-to-door for the freeze in New Hampshire. A month earlier, Hart kicked off a freeze walk-a-thon in Iowa. McGovern's campaign coordinators are selling their candidate as the one closest to the heart of the movement. And in December, Cranston was the only candidate to speak at the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign's annual convention.

Now, with the all-important first primaries and caucuses approaching, the scramble for peace movement support is picking up speed. Several of the Democratic candidates, including Mondale, recently accepted invitations to meet in Washington, D.C., with representatives of leading arms control groups. And some political analysts within both parties say that arms control could become a major issue of the 1984 presidential campaign—especially if leading Democrats focus their challenge to Reagan on foreign policy, not the economy.

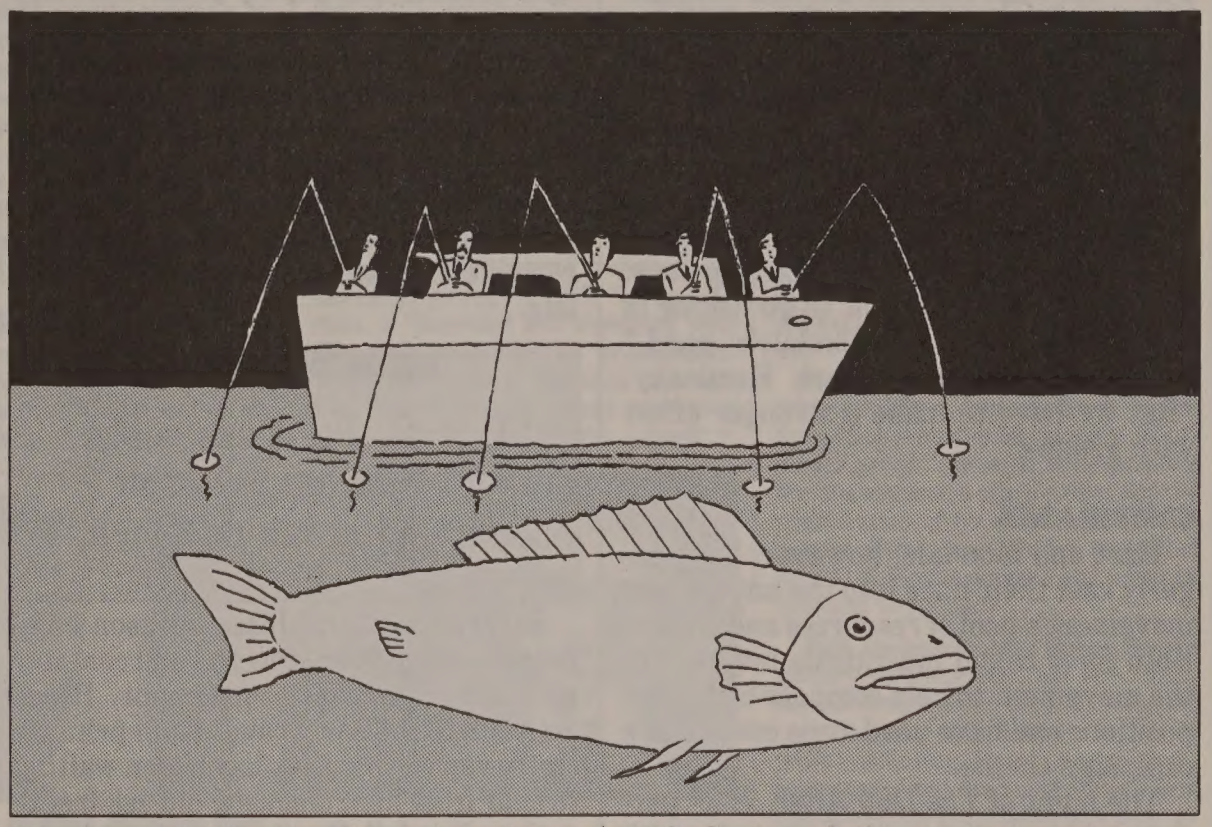


ILLUSTRATION BY STEVEN GUARNACCIA

GONE FISHING

More than any of the other candidates, Cranston has concentrated on arms control and winning the support of the movement. His campaign, which has held "Peace and Job" rallies throughout Iowa, has so far earned him more tangible assistance from antinuclear ranks than any of the other contenders.

The Peace Committee for Alan Cranston, formed by Jerome Grossman, president of the Council for a Livable World, boasts several hundred peace activists as members. Members of the committee, according to Harris Wofford, co-chairman of Cranston's national steering committee, are trying to encourage other peace activists to become involved in the campaign, even to the extent of running in primaries as Cranston delegates.

The Peace Committee will also be involved in Cranston's attempt to push a platform aimed at reversing the arms race at the Democratic convention in San Francisco in July. Cranston has formed a drafting committee, headed by Jerome Wiesner, honorary chairman of the Council for a Livable World. This committee will encourage activists and experts in the fields of arms control and U.S.-Soviet relations to compose key policies to promote at the convention. "We want to challenge—and not settle for—the centrist policy of the Democratic establishment," says Wofford.

In many of the early primary and caucus states, antinuclear activists who are inclined to become involved in presidential politics seem to be leaning more toward Cranston than the other candidates. Stop the Arms Race Political Action Committee, a Des Moines group, endorsed Cranston. After members of the Maine Freeze Campaign met with Mondale, Hart and Cranston for off-the-record talks, Cranston came out the favorite. "People liked his perspective," says Gary Akovenko of the campaign. "But this does not equal an endorsement."

In seeking the peace vote, however, Cranston has run into a few obstacles—for example, his support of the B-1b bomber and much-noted lack of charisma. Another is George McGovern.

Though Cranston campaign aides downplay the threat posed by McGovern, contending that his presidential campaign is designed mostly as a means to gain an audience, one staffer admits that with McGovern in the race Cranston's campaign has lost the support of some of the more "die-hard" peace activists.

McGovern has had to catch up with Cranston, who has been in touch with peace activists since he announced his candidacy a year ago. "The disarmament community is our constituency," says Jim McGovern (no relation), the Massachusetts coordinator for McGovern. "We have to do well among it." Where he has fielded a strong effort, McGovern has made some inroads into Cranston's support—for both sentimental and substantive reasons. His call for a 25 percent decrease in the Pentagon's budget has attracted peace activists to his admittedly Quixotic cause. In Iowa, several peace activists have joined his statewide steering campaign.

But McGovern has not been very aggressive in seeking out peace groups. "McGovern doesn't want to go fishing in Cranston's pond or Mondale's pond," says press secretary Mark Kaminsky. "But we have to make a stronger effort with groups."

CASTING LINES

Hart and Mondale, however, have eagerly cast their lines into the antinuclear movement's pool of resources and voters. Both have asked individuals involved in the movement to help compose campaign positions and have used arms control as a campaign theme.

The night of *The Day After*, Hart participated in a discussion in Los Angeles with representatives of several groups, including Ground Zero. In their effort to portray Hart as the "thinking man's" arms control candidate—one who develops his own proposals—Hart and his aides have held private meetings with peace activists. Hart and freeze organizers in Iowa argued about the build-down concept (which Hart supports, as well as the freeze). But there was no indication that Hart would change his stand, says freeze activist Tim Button, who attended the meeting.

Mondale's effort to capture peace movement votes has in some areas echoed his general campaign strategy—get that endorsement. A spokesman for his front-running campaign says that Mondale has not taken many specific steps to reach local antinuclear organizations. But Mondale did send his son Theodore to New Hampshire to meet for three-and-a-half hours with Tom Wall, co-director of the Nashua Peace Center. The younger Mondale's mission was to pick up an endorsement. "He tried to convince me that Mondale is really more antinuclear than Cranston, but that he can't make a public battle out of this," says Wall. "Mondale only wants to say this behind-the-scenes." Wall did not find the pitch "convincing." The Nashua Peace Center, which has been distributing candidate position papers to peace activists via its newsletter, will not be endorsing any candidate.

As for the other Democratic candidates, they have, more or less, conceded the support of the antinuclear/peace movement to Cranston or Mondale. Though John Glenn's campaign staffers in Iowa have called him "the peace candidate of 1984," the deputy press secretary of his national campaign notes that arms control is really Cranston's issue and refuses to accept the label "peace candidate" for Glenn. Neither Glenn, Ernest Hollings nor Reubin Askew—the only Democratic candidate who does not support the freeze—have made any concerted efforts to reach antinuclear activists.

> "It is at the grass-roots level that much of the courting is taking place."

Surprisingly, the Jesse Jackson campaign has also been slow to build contacts with the antinuclear movement. Peace activists in the early caucus and primary states report that they have been waiting to hear from him. (Jackson did ask freeze author Randall Forsberg to be his defense adviser, but she declined.) When asked why Jackson is not matching the attempts of some other Democrats to reach out to the movement, a Jackson press aide maintained that "Jackson is *part* of the movement. The others are forced to make special efforts because they're not actually involved in the movement." But the Jackson campaign is reportedly troubled by organizational difficulties that have prevented the development of a strong presence at the state and local levels. And it is at the grass-roots level that much of the courting is taking place.

As for the Republican candidate, there have been no reports from the grass roots of any overtures to the movement on the part of the Reagan campaign. A Reagan campaign aide claims that Reagan is not concerned about a potential antinuclear voting bloc.

At the national level, there has not been extensive contact between candidates and groups. "None are wooing *me*," says Mike Mawby, director of SANE PAC. "And I'm as happy to see them not coming in. I'd hate to turn them down for endorsements." That candidates are focusing on local organizers makes sense because few national groups plan to endorse presidential candidates. "There is no reason to make a big play for them," says John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World, which will not make a presidential endorsement.

FREEZE ENDORSEMENT

But there is one exception—Freeze Voter '84, the electoral arm of the freeze movement, which has considered endorsing a candidate. Consequently, it has been contacted by several of the campaigns. "They're scouting out what we're doing, checking out our endorsement process," says Bill Curry, executive director of Freeze Voter '84. "There's been a tremendous upsurge in interest in the freeze movement. This is because the level of the movement's political mobilization is now seen as greater than had been previously thought. As candidates see the political strength of the movement, a courtship is developing."

An endorsement will only come, possibly as early as this month, if Freeze Voter '84 can determine that a strong consensus at all levels of the freeze movement (somewhere in the neighborhood of 75 percent) exists for a particular candidate—the likely choice seems Cranston or Mondale—and that an endorsement would not split the freeze movement.

But how much help will antinuclear activists be to any candidate? "I think most of the candidates realize there will be a large peace/freeze constituency attending the Iowa caucuses," says Tim Button of the Iowa Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. "And they want that support." What the movement can offer is political mobilization. "Candidates are mesmerized by media and money," Curry notes. "The freeze movement is anxious to demonstrate that there is no substitute for real mobilization." While it is hard to believe that the movement alone can make or break a candidate, support for a particular candidate could provide a boost for any campaign. And organized movement involvement in primaries and caucuses could provide swing votes, highlight arms control as an election issue, and perhaps set the tone for the entire presidential campaign. But as of yet, no candidate has caught the imagination of a clear majority of the antinuclear movement. And if none do, the question will remain, who should the movement "settle" for, if anyone?

—David Corn

Where They Stand

WHAT'S AHEAD

Any differences? Reagan, Mondale, McGovern

Are there any major differences among the Democratic candidates when it comes to nuclear policy? All cite the arms race as one of their top priorities. All are quick to denounce Reagan's nuclear policy. And all claim to offer the most practical alternative. There is much overlapping of positions, yet substantial differences—some explicit, others subtle—do exist. (NUCLEAR TIMES cannot and does not support any candidate.)

THE FREEZE: Of the eight Democratic candidates, all support a nuclear freeze with the exception of Askew. McGovern goes the furthest, calling for a one-year unilateral moratorium on all nuclear arms production, testing and deployment, confident that the Soviets would follow the U.S. lead. Cranston promises not a unilateral freeze, but a unilateral initiative. The day he is inaugurated, he maintains, he will institute a halt on the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons that would apply as long as the Soviets display similar restraint. He would then begin negotiations to codify this halt and to freeze the production of nuclear arms.

Neither Glenn nor Hart were quick to endorse the freeze when it was introduced in the Senate. On occasion Glenn has downplayed its importance. And Hollings combines his support of the freeze with support for force modernization. Hollings, Glenn and Cranston all backed the Jackson-Warner amendment, the Reagan administration's counter to the freeze, though Cranston eventually turned against it. (Reagan position: antifreeze.)

MILITARY BUDGET: Only McGovern calls for a cut—25 percent. Jackson and Cranston oppose increases. Mondale favors a 4.3 percent rise over inflation. Glenn has called for increases ranging from 5 to 7 percent. Hart's alternative budget is based on a 4.5 to 5 percent increase. Hollings—perhaps in contradictory fashion—calls for a "freeze on the defense budget for one year at 3 percent real growth." Askew favors a 5 percent rise and notes he "would be willing to go above" that. (Reagan position: 17 percent increase.)

MX & MIDGETMAN: Not one candidate backs the MX. But in the past Glenn and Hollings have both supported the missile. In 1980 Glenn proposed that the MX be deployed on trailers and trucked around interstate highways. Hollings supported the MX until 1982 when he became one of the MX opposition leaders in Congress (Hart also leads the MX opposition). Though Mondale claims he "privately opposed" the MX while he was vice president, several published reports maintain he supported Carter's pro-MX plans.

Mondale now supports the Midgetman as an alternative to the MX. Askew, Hart and Hollings also back the small intercontinental missile. And Glenn calls for the development of a "small, accurate and mobile land-based missile" instead of the MX. (Reagan position: build MX *and* Midgetman.)

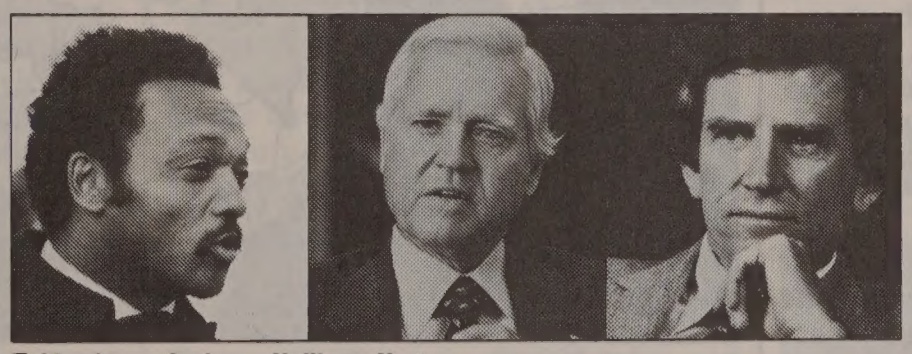
B-1B BOMBER: Only two candidates—Glenn and Cranston—favor its development. Cranston maintains that his support for the freeze supercedes that for the bomber, but that until there is a freeze, the B-1b is necessary to preserve the air leg of the U.S. strategic triad—which now depends on B-52 bombers. As with the MX, Hollings supported the B-1b until a few years ago and then switched. And Askew ties his opposition to the B-1b to his support for equipping B-52s with air-launched cruise missiles. (Reagan position: build B-1b.)

EUROMISSILES: McGovern is the only candidate who has declared that he would halt deployment of the Euromissiles and pull out those already deployed. Both Jackson and Cranston called for a delay in deployment. Now a Cranston aide says he is "not ready to yank them out."

As for the rest, each favors some degree of deployment. Mondale backs the Nitze-Kvitsinsky "walk in the woods" agreements, which called for no Pershing 2 missiles and 75 cruise missiles deployed (current plans—originally worked out by the Carter administration—call for 108 Pershing 2 missiles and 464 cruise missiles) in return for Soviet reductions. (Both sides in Geneva now denounce this plan.) Though Glenn in October proposed delaying cruise missile deployment (to prevent a cruise missile race), he backed Pershing 2 deployment. Hart, however, suggested going ahead with the cruise missile, but delaying the Pershing 2s. Hollings has proposed his own plan that calls for deployment of reduced numbers in exchange for a decrease in Soviet missiles. Askew favors Reagan's deployment plan.

NO FIRST USE: Most of the field supports no-first-use of nuclear weapons. Cranston, Hart and Hollings all maintain that to make such a pledge it is first necessary to strengthen conventional forces in Europe. Both Mondale and Glenn favor an increase in conventional forces and oppose no-first-use. The "potential use of tactical nuclear weapons," Glenn notes, "is seen as a major deterrent . . . [and] to be credible, a deterrent must be perceived by the other side as readily capable of being used." Jackson has called for a reduction of U.S. troops in Europe. (Reagan position: oppose no-first-use pledge.)

• Other nuclear-related issues have also been addressed—in the past and present—by the candidates. **Mondale** has highlighted his support of SALT II, for which he lobbied hard while vice president. He maintains he would resubmit it to the Senate if elected. He has called for regular U.S.-Soviet summits, a "chemical and biological warfare agreement," and an "antisatellite-space war" treaty. Mondale says that the United States should not build weapons with a first-strike capability, but he supports developing the new and accurate Trident D-5 missile, which some experts term a first-strike weapon. He also backs air-launched, as well as ground-launched, cruise missiles.



Taking issue: Jackson, Hollings, Hart

When appealing for arms control votes, **Glenn** likes to note his leadership role in the Senate on nonproliferation. But last summer Glenn declined to support a bill meant to toughen controls on nuclear material. During the campaign Glenn has called for a ban on antisatellite weapons and voiced support for SALT II (which he originally opposed). Last year he voted in favor of the production of chemical weapons. He supports the D-5 missile. In 1982, Glenn was one of 60 senators to vote against a measure calling for a U.S.-Soviet summit on nuclear weapons.

Like Glenn and Mondale, **Cranston** backs SALT II. In the Senate he has opposed chemical weapons. He has promised to initiate aspects of the freeze on the first day of his presidency. Cranston has declined to take a stand on the D-5, commenting that he hopes an arms control agreement will eliminate any need for it. And though he has a solid reputation as a dove, after militants seized U.S. hostages in Iran in 1979 Cranston advocated reductions in domestic spending in order to increase military spending. (The idea was to send a signal to the Soviets.) Cranston now calls for greater U.S.-Soviet cooperation in ending the arms race.

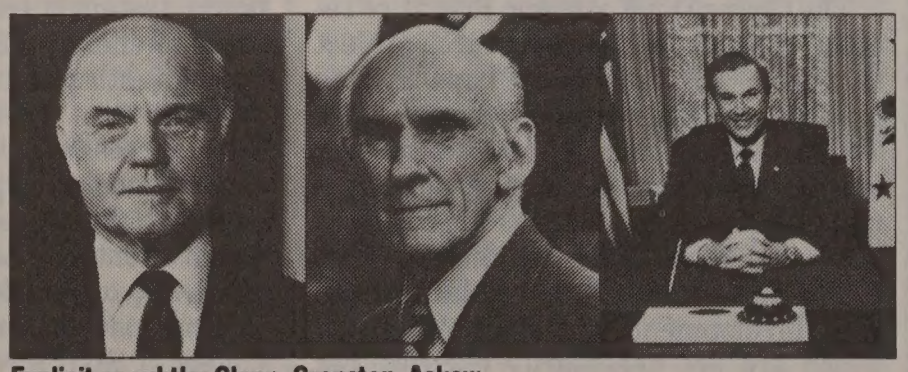
Of all the candidates, only **McGovern** has boldly declared that U.S. nuclear forces maintain a margin of superiority over Soviet forces. When responding to a questionnaire sent out by New York City Mayor Edward Koch to each presidential candidate (except Jackson, who had not yet announced), McGovern was the only candidate who said he would use tactical nuclear weapons if they were the only way to prevent a Soviet takeover of Western Europe. The other candidates dodged the question, except for Hollings, who answered that he would consider their use.

Jackson, perhaps more than any other candidate, has criticized the entire military-industrial complex. "Corporate greed," he says, is responsible for "the expansion of arms sales and the proliferation of both nuclear and conventional weapons." He too has called for a U.S.-Soviet summit and a ban on chemical weapons.

Hart, the leader of the House-Senate military reform group, has also championed measures to ease U.S.-Soviet tensions, including summits and joint crisis monitoring. Hart opposes chemical weapons and declines to take a firm position on the D-5 missile. His alternative military budget urges a reallocation of resources to provide for a more efficient military. He supports the Nunn-Cohen build-down proposal, not as an alternative to the freeze, but as a requirement if "any new, more survivable systems are built."

Hollings also supports the Nunn-Cohen build-down. He does not favor a chemical weapons ban and backs the D-5 missile. When asked if he believes the United States should build weapons with a first-strike capability, he replied, "yes."

Askew, who supports SALT II and the D-5 missile, calls for upgrading Minuteman III missiles, while the Midgetman is developed. □



Explicit or subtle: Glenn, Cranston, Askew

JESSE JACKSON PHOTO BY HAZEL HANKIN

WHAT'S AHEAD

THE HEAVENS CAN WAIT

Star Wars Fight: Coming Soon

In recent months, the Reagan administration has increasingly looked to the heavens for strategic options. Over $2 billion in research and development for a variety of space weapons is already underway, and the administration is asking for much more. It is also testing a new antisatellite (ASAT) weapon and has drawn up a long-range plan to enact Reagan's $18 billion to $27 billion "Star Wars" vision of space-based lasers and particle beams designed for so-called defensive measures.

But as Reagan looks more and more toward outer space, others are looking toward Capitol Hill and the battle brewing in this year's Congress over Reagan's new frontier.

Among opponents of space weapons, there is a feeling of optimism. At the very least, many believe, the Reagan administration will not receive its full funding request for fiscal year 1985, and Congress might even adopt other measures aimed at preventing an arms race in space. Beating back or defeating a part of Reagan's space plan is one of the few legislative victories the antinuclear movement could pick up in the next few months.

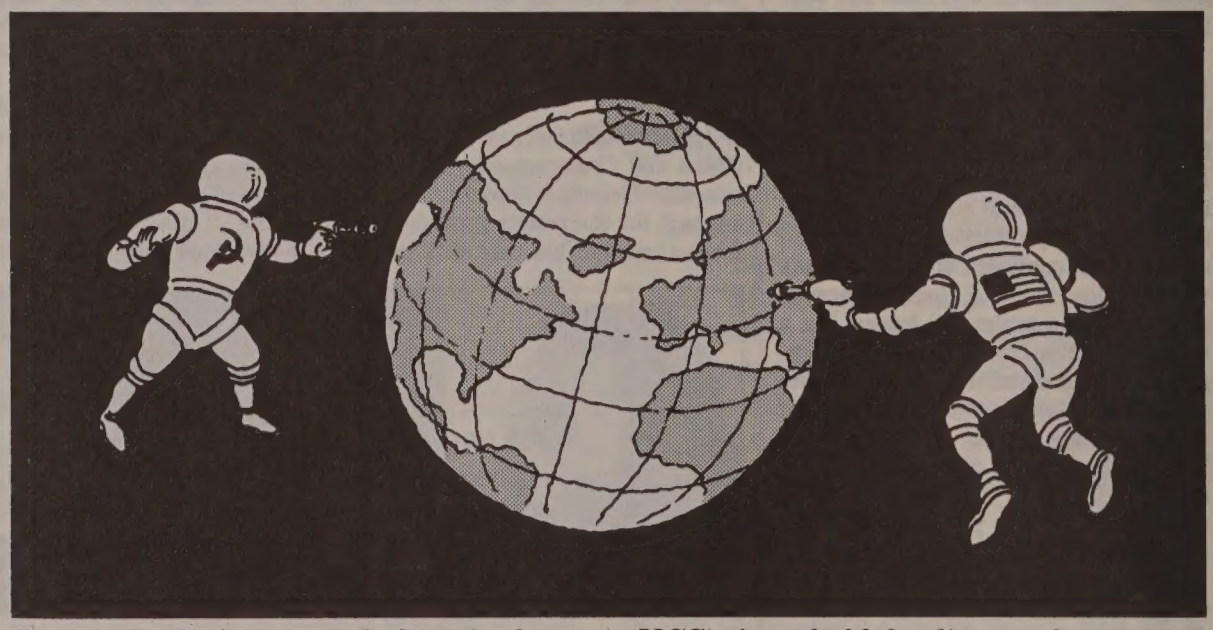
BUCK STOPS HERE?

It wasn't long ago that many within the antinuclear movement considered the entire topic of Buck Rogers weapon technology too esoteric to merit a serious application of attention and resources. But Reagan's high-priced space crusade has sparked public interest and forced the movement to confront the issue.

Last December, when representatives of about 30 disarmament organizations met at a retreat to discuss legislative priorities, space weapons, along with the MX, were at the top of the list for 1984. At the Freeze Campaign's annual conference the same month, local organizers expressed enthusiasm about involvement in this issue.

The Council on Economic Priorities recently began a 20-month research project to assess U.S. and Soviet capacities to produce and deploy space weapons. Alice Tepper Marlin, president of the Council, worries that time is running out. "Momentum for space weapons is growing," she notes. Marlin fears that the arms race would move into a new escalation with the development of space weapons, which are not necessarily nuclear, but nevertheless bear severe strategic implications. And the possible deployment of a Soviet space-based laser system, Marlin adds, could, like the launching of Sputnik in 1957, lead to an emotional overreaction on the part of the United States. This Soviet system, she explains, is quite primitive and has little military significance, but could raise cries of a "Space Gap."

Forefront in the ranks of space weapons opponents has been a collection of noted scientists and arms experts, including Richard Garwin, a nuclear physicist for IBM; George Rathjens and Kosta Tsipis, both of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and astronomer Carl Sagan. Both Sagan and Garwin have been circulating a petition to ban all space weapons, and the scientists' testimony and lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill have been credited for helping to slow the ASAT testing schedule.



But while antispace weapons activity is increasing, a variety of Star Wars programs are proceeding apace.

Los Alamos National Laboratory and Lawrence Livermore Laboratory are developing lasers to be based in space that utilize free-electron technology and employ nuclear warhead-generated X-rays. The Pentagon is studying a nuclear power system in space that could be used for high-energy ASAT lasers as well as another antisatellite system using space-based lasers. The Air Force and Navy have successfully tested the Airborne Laser Laboratory, which was able to down a Navy target drone. The Defense Department has noted that a proposed NASA space station could be used for testing space-based weapons. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have recommended that the military form a unified space command so that the United States could "seize the high ground" before the Soviet Union has a chance to do so. And this is only a partial list.

CONGRESS: OUT OF SPACE?

Within Congress the space weapons debate is occurring on three fronts. The first is the fight over the budget. With a rising deficit and a proposed military spending increase of about 17 percent, Congress is expected to be less tolerant of military largesse, and increased R&D funds for space weapons might become vulnerable.

"There is no way Congress will ever cut out all R&D for this field," says one congressional staffer. "It's hard to argue successfully on the Hill against R&D." So the goal of the space weapons opponents, according to Charles Monforth, a lobbyist for the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), is to hold funding at the current level.

"This is a big-ticket, highly controversial program," notes John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists. "Usually money of this size goes to operational capability—something to shoot someone with. To spend billions on R&D for programs years in the future, while you're facing a huge election year deficit and having trouble paying for artillery ammunition needed today—a majority of Congress will say that this is one problem they don't need this year." But Congress can only be expected to squawk if the administration maintains the program's high visibility.

A second front has been opened by several bills that may make it to the floor of the House and Senate.

This past fall a measure sponsored by Senators Larry Pressler and Paul Tsongas, calling for a moratorium on ASAT testing, a resumption of ASAT negotiations and further development of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty,

ILLUSTRATION BY STEVEN GUARNACCIA

was passed by a voice vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The resolution never made it to the Senate floor, but space weapons opponents are hoping to bring it to a vote this session.

In the House, Representative Joe Moakley is continuing his efforts to bring a measure to the floor calling for a negotiated ban on all space weapons. (While the Soviet Union has proposed an ASAT ban, the Reagan administration has not expressed any significant interest.) But on the other side of this issue, Representative Ken Kramer and Senator William Armstrong are pushing the People Protection Act, urging a full-scale space- and ground-based "defensive" system.

The third front concerns one specific weapon system, the new hit-to-kill ASAT, a miniature homing vehicle designed to be launched from an F-15 fighter jet. Of all the proposed space weapons, this ASAT is closest to deployment. According to the Pentagon schedule, its initial operational capability should be achieved by 1987. Space weapons opponents will try to target procurement funds, as well as attempt to block or delay its testing schedule.

Already ASAT opponents have made some substantial progress. By studying NASA's 1984 launch schedule, a UCS analyst has determined that the first test of the ASAT against a target in space (a highly classified event) has been postponed until after the November election. Although there have been technical problems with the program, this delay is also probably due to an amendment attached by Tsongas and Moakley to the fiscal year 1984 defense authorization bill.

This measure requires that before such an ASAT test President Reagan must certify to Congress that the administration is endeavoring to negotiate a ban on ASATs and that the test itself is "necessary to avert clear and irrevocable harm to the national security." John Pike speculates that the postponement might have been motivated by a desire to push a controversial event past the election and into fiscal year 1985 and away from the certification requirements.

Within the administration and the Pentagon, there is much scrambling for funds going on among advocates of all the various Buck Rogers technologies. And the aerospace industry has been quite excited by Reagan's costly program. This only increases the stakes, as Reagan's plan comes to Congress.

"It's going to be a circus, a real fight," says Pike, who helps to coordinate space weapons opposition. And it will be an important fight for all sides, a test to see just how far Reagan, the Pentagon and the aerospace industry (and their congressional supporters) can get this program off the ground. **—David Corn**

DEADLY CONNECTIONS

Intervention: Missing Link?

This winter the war in Lebanon has brought a new urgency to the peace movement's debate about military intervention. The pressure of events has even forced some activists who normally work solely on nuclear weapons to speak out against the administration's policy in the Middle East. Chap Morrison of the Freeze Campaign's Washington office, for instance, alerted his phone tree to call on Congress to bring home the Marines.

"I think it's a mistake for the freeze to get involved in the intervention issue," Morrison says, "and if the administration invaded Nicaragua, I wouldn't do anything. That's our sphere of influence, and the Soviets would let us get away with pretty well anything there. But the situation in the Middle East is extremely dangerous. I couldn't sit by with the kind of phone tree we have and let the administration take us into a nuclear war."

The National Freeze Campaign passed its first resolution opposing superpower intervention at its national convention in December (though no specific plans were made for lobbying work on the issue). SANE is making Central America a legislative priority for 1984. Mobilization for Survival is targeting several cities for conferences on the links between military intervention and the nuclear arms race. "Deadly Connection" conferences have already been held in Boston, Washington, Philadelphia and Connecticut, and Randall Forsberg's speech on the subject has proved so popular that she has videotaped it for use by activists around the country.

Groups that have always opposed intervention as well as nuclear weapons are putting new efforts into coalition building. In Boston, the American Friends Service Committee, MfS, the Council for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze and several anti-intervention groups have been meeting regularly since November to set up a New England-wide emergency response network. On January 12, the day the Kissinger commission released its report on Central America, they pulled off their first joint action: a human chain around the John F. Kennedy Federal Building with mock-ups of battleships, helicopters and cruise missiles to represent Lebanon, Central America and Europe. Similar coalitions are forming in Minneapolis, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Washington, D.C. "If we don't link nuclear weapons and intervention issues," says Joseph Gerson of the AFSC, "we're going to fragment as broad segments of the movement cut out of disarmament to work on Central America."

Nevertheless, many antinuclear groups are sticking to their single-issue focus. "It would take more substantive pressure from the grass roots to get us to change our position," says Abram Claude of Physicians for Social Responsibility. "We don't want to upset the agreement that binds our members." There is still a basic rift in the movement between those who see the nuclear arms race and intervention as inseparable parts of the same problem and those who feel that nuclear weapons can and should be taken on in isolation from other foreign policy issues. In this month's Forum, Joseph Gerson and Theo Brown express their opposing points of view.

—M.M.

Defuse The Nuclear Triggers

On June 12, 1982, as I marched for disarmament and human needs with my family and hundreds of thousands of other people through New York's concrete canyons, I could not share the elation that others felt. I had been in Lebanon and Israel only six months earlier, when preparations for General Ariel Sharon's American-approved invasion of Lebanon were well advanced and widely known. As we marched in New York, people I knew were caught in the fighting. By June 12, thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians had been killed, wounded, or made homeless by American-built weapons in the first week of the Israeli invasion. Israeli planes, tanks, and troops were engaging Syria's army of occupation. The world was approaching the threshold of nuclear holocaust, just as it had in the closing days of the 1973 Middle East war, when President Nixon placed the United States on nuclear alert.

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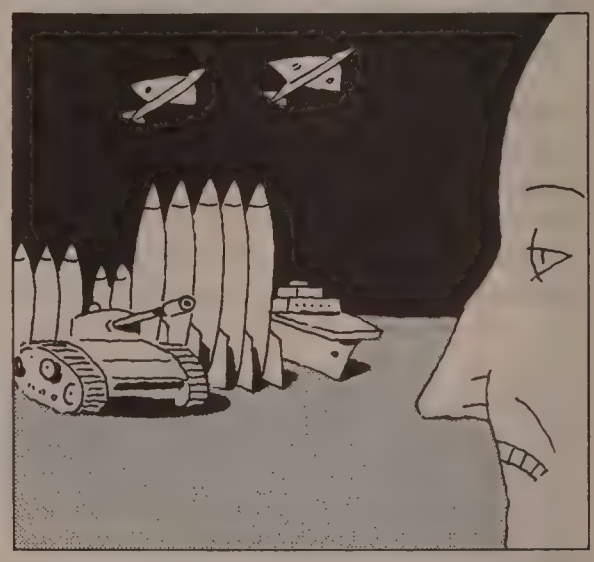
12 Coalition decided not to address questions of intervention in the organizing effort or at the rally in Central Park. On June 12, as people in the Middle East were being torn and seared with American-built cluster bombs, we were silent in New York. While the world lurched toward the nuclear holocaust that we had all come to prevent, we were silent. Only one woman had the insight and courage to speak about the war in Lebanon from the podium. Today it is President Reagan who tells us that an escalation of the war in Lebanon could lead to World War III.

Until recently, when several peace groups began organizing around the issue of the "Deadly Connection," the American peace movement had allowed itself to divide into two wings. One wing challenged the nuclear arms race; the other challenged U.S. military intervention in the Third World. Both wings ignored the fact that Washington's nuclear war policy is part and parcel of its efforts to maintain its sphere of influence, which extends from Central America to the borders of China and the Soviet Union. Neither segment of the peace movement adequately addressed the fact that regional conflicts and U.S. military interventions in the Third World are the most likely triggers of a nuclear holocaust. There was little public discussion of the possibility that one reason for the Carter administration's decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe might have been fears that if the United States invaded Iran it could find itself confronting the Soviet Union in the Middle East in a period of nuclear parity.

The nuclear weapons race is suicidal, but not entirely mindless. The race to deploy first-strike weapons is an effort to regain the massive superiority the United States once enjoyed. Many national security managers believe that the threat to destroy the Soviet Union in a first strike will leave the United States unchallenged in the Middle East and elsewhere in the Third World. As Randall Forsberg puts it, "The nuclear arms race has nothing to do with defense, little to do with deterrence, and everything to do with a monopoly of U.S. intervention in other countries while blocking Soviet intervention."

If intervention forces rely on the nuclear umbrella, they could also serve as a tripwire for its use. And changes in technology are eroding the "firebreak" between conventional and nuclear war, increasing the likelihood of a conventional battle escalating into a nuclear confrontation. As Michael Klare of the Institute for Policy Studies has pointed out, nuclear weapons are "becoming more like conventional weapons in their capacity to destroy relatively confined areas." They can be used as antitank, antiship, and anti-aircraft weapons. At the same time, new types of cluster bombs and other conventional weapons are beginning to approach small nuclear weapons in their destructive capability, reducing the incentive for keeping a conflict conventional. Many recently produced weapons systems supplied to the Rapid Deployment Force are "dual capable," able to fire or carry both conventional and nuclear warheads.



Although President Reagan's military policies and technological progress have tightened the links, the Deadly Connection is nothing new. Nor is it part of the baggage that can be swept away by changing the party in the Oval Office. Every president since the end of World War II, with the possible exception of Gerald Ford, has threatened to use nuclear weapons to maintain the U.S. sphere of influence. In Daniel Ellsberg's words, "Generally in secret from the American public, U.S. nuclear weapons have been used in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone's head in a direct confrontation, whether or not the trigger is pulled." Nuclear weapons have been used in this way from Vietnam, Korea and China to Central America. (In 1954, President Eisenhower dispatched Strategic Air Command bombers with tactical nuclear weapons to Nicaragua to back up the CIA-sponsored coup in neighboring Guatemala.) We are unbelievably lucky that no one has dared to call our government's bluff.

The Middle East has been the most consistently dangerous nuclear trigger. Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Johnson, and Nixon all threatened to use nuclear weapons there; after the fall of the Shah of Iran, President Carter announced that the United States would use "any means necessary" to ensure that it remained the dominant power in the Persian Gulf. President Reagan has re-

ILLUSTRATIONS BY STEVEN GUARNACCIA

peatedly reaffirmed this commitment. Though addressing the conflicts in the Middle East and the U.S. role there presents more than a little challenge to the American peace movement, our failure to do so condemns us to futility. Had Congress been able to force President Reagan to support a nuclear weapons freeze, we would still face a nuclear holocaust growing out of our ambitions in the Middle East.

If the disarmament movement in the United States is to be successful, it must challenge the world as it is, not as we want it to be. While some activists know that nuclear weapons have been used as an essential element of U.S foreign intervention since the end of World War II, it comes as a shocking surprise to many in the movement. If our nearly colonial policies in Central America and our ambitions in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East constitute so many nuclear triggers, we should be organizing ourselves to defuse those triggers and not be turning away in silence. If the Rapid Deployment Force serves as a nuclear tripwire in the Middle East, and the Pentagon's plans for "Air-Land Battle" (*see Washington Report, p. 14)* call for nuclear weapons to be used in conjunction with war in the Third World, we cannot ignore them and think we are authentically responding to the challenges before us.

It was not our choice to be born into so dangerous a world, though some of us have chosen to bring others into it. From our anguished desire to erase the threat of annihilation that hangs over us and our children, it is tempting to choose what seems to be the easiest and least complicated way to halt the nuclear arms race and remain silent on questions of military intervention. We must see the freeze through to implementation. But marches in New York, town meetings, and referenda on the freeze will not be enough if our generation and subsequent generations are to have a chance of surviving. As we work to halt the nuclear arms race, we must also organize against foreign intervention—U.S. and Soviet. Only in this way can the nuclear triggers be completely defused.

—Joseph Gerson

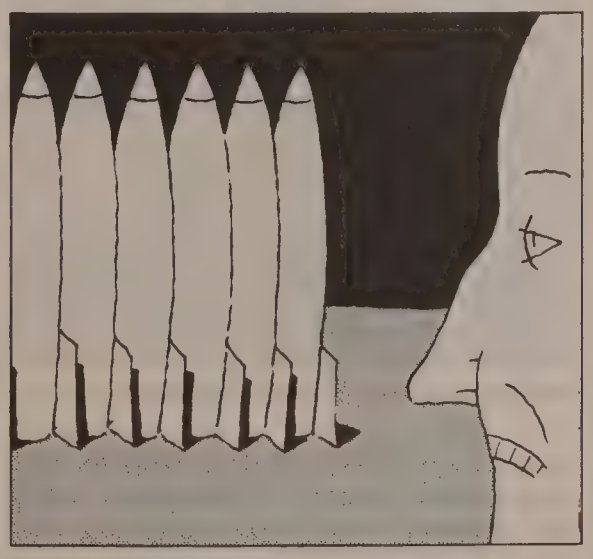
Joseph Gerson is peace secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in New England and the initiator of the first "Deadly Connection" conference, held in Boston in December 1982.

Don't Confuse The Issue

The inclination to link efforts to prevent nuclear war with movements opposed to U.S. military intervention is understandable. Both concerns spring from the vision of a world secure from war, and attract some of the same supporters. Both efforts warn us of the danger of relying on military force to resolve disputes. And the two have an organic relationship because the most likely route to a nuclear war between the superpowers is the escalation of a regional conflict. However, this does not mean that groups concerned with reducing the risk of nuclear war should become deeply involved in opposing instances of U.S. military intervention. On the contrary, I believe that to do so is a mistake. The reasons for my concern fall into two general categories.

First, it is imperative that we in the antinuclear war movement not be sidetracked from proclaiming the urgency and uniqueness of the nuclear threat. The danger of nuclear war is not just another issue. There are a number of important and pressing issues having to do with the quality of life; preventing nuclear war has to do with the preservation of life itself. The first step in reducing the danger is to illustrate how much higher the stakes are in our current dilemma. No one has stated the case better than Albert Einstein in his famous comment: "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." Adequately communicating the implications of this change is a task of almost limitless proportions. Antinuclear war groups that add other issues to their agenda risk alienating and confusing an American public that is just beginning to confront the truth about the urgency of our predicament.

What is needed from the antinuclear war movement now is more education about the "new way of thinking" that is necessary for survival in the Nuclear Age—not protests against the specifics of American military policy. Too much focus on U.S. military intervention before people see the "big picture"—how nuclear weapons have changed the world—is putting the cart before the horse. It is only after going through the "nuclear war passage" that people can fully understand the necessity to change our military posture and other aspects of U.S. international behavior.



Secondly, linking other issues to our agenda makes it harder—not easier—for new people to become involved in the effort to prevent nuclear war. Even though there has been a significant increase in the past two years in the number of Americans who are involved in this issue, they are still far too few to bring about the necessary changes. It is imperative to expand the circle of citizens committed to working on the problem. Some suggest that adding other issues to the agenda of antinuclear war organizations is a way to reach new constituencies. I believe that the opposite is true. The more baggage we add to our central concern about nuclear war, the more obstacles we put in the way of new people who would come to the issue.

This is particularly true to the extent that the foreign policy positions endorsed are closely aligned with the liberal view of international relations. There are not enough liberals to save this country from nuclear war. Those who consider themselves conservatives must be brought to this issue in large numbers or we have little hope of success. Our task must be to make it as easy as possible for new people to go through "the nuclear war passage" and move towards the new way of thinking. Suggesting that someone must also agree with a particular view of U.S. foreign policy in Lebanon or Central America does not make it easier, but harder to confront the one overriding issue of the Nuclear Age.

None of the above is intended to imply that efforts to oppose inappropriate U.S. military intervention are unimportant. My concern is aimed only at groups that are primarily focused on reducing the risk of nuclear war. There is already more to do in educating and mobilizing the public for specific nuclear war prevention activity than we are able to manage successfully. What compelling reason is there to divert already scarce resources to other issues? I don't believe that such a compelling reason exists. In its absence, there is much more to lose than to gain by taking on new issues. We already have our hands full with the biggest problem the world has ever seen.

—Theo Brown

Theo Brown is the executive director of Ground Zero.

BY FRED KAPLAN

E.T. Facing Nuclear Future?

Over the past two years, the Reagan-Weinberger Pentagon has fervently endeavored to tone down its rhetoric on the subject of nuclear war. It's been quite a shift from the opening days in power when, in the wake of the sweeping victory over Jimmy Carter and amidst swoons over a new agenda and a new commitment to military strength, top administration officials waxed insouciant about the feasibility of limiting—even winning—a nuclear war. In the face of a large and growing public outrage over such remarks, these same officials soon displayed more caution, swift to note in numerous public forums that they believe nuclear war to be unacceptable.

At about the same time, however, military officers began to talk about a new doctrine for war in Europe. A plan was drawn up called Air-Land Battle 2000. The "old" war plans called for fighting a war of attrition in the event of a Soviet invasion—front lines socking it out face to face, using nuclear weapons if all else failed. But Air-Land Battle would emphasize disrupting the Soviets' attack by striking at airfields, supplies, command posts and rear-echelon forces well behind the front line.

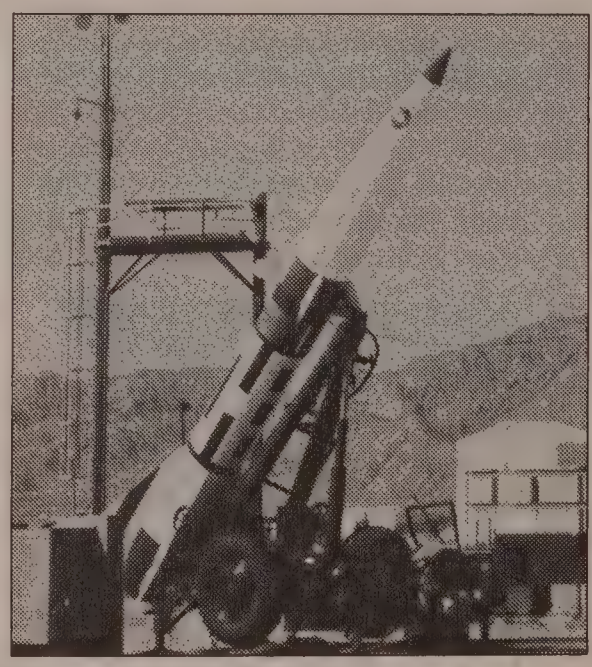
This would be possible, they say, through the development of new high-technology weapons that came under the rubric of "Emerging Technologies," or, in a cute acronym, "E.T."—a network of "supersmart" missiles, sensors and extremely rapid data-processing and relaying systems that would allow very small munitions to hit targets with near-perfect accuracy from hundreds of miles away. With E.T., many advocates note, the military could use conventional weapons to strike targets that up to now could only have been destroyed by nuclear weapons.

One E.T. program, a proposed missile called the WASP, relies on microcomputers inside its shell to sniff out the radio waves naturally transmitted by tanks, distinguishing these targets from all other objects around them. Another "Deep Strike" program involves a sensor called J-STARS (Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System). Placed on board a TR-1 reconnaissance aircraft, J-STARS is designed to pick out the locations of targets hundreds of miles behind enemy lines. The information is transmitted to computer networks, which dispatch long-range missiles loaded with super-smart munitions that can then seek out their targets with precision.

All of these weapons are in an early stage of development, though some are now beginning to attract substantial money in the defense budget.

There are some problems with E.T., however, that its celebrators have failed to point out. First, as one officer familiar with the development of the programs puts it, "The technology just isn't there."

A panel of the Defense Science Board, an advisory group that usually rubber-stamps every high-tech weapon that the Pentagon proposes, concluded last year that weapons like these are "extremely unlikely" to work for a long time. The



Air-Land Battle's "Assault Breaker"

systems require data not only on features—such as heat signatures, natural radio waves, etc.—of the weapons that the supersmart missiles are aimed at, but also on the surrounding terrain.

Says the panel's report, "It will be impossible to accumulate data in sufficient quantity on enemy vehicles in an enemy environment." A radar expert in the Pentagon adds that the Soviets could jam the sensors quite easily, through false radar images and even simple camouflage. "The amount of confusion and disinformation [they] could pump into the NATO commanders is unbelievable," he says.

The science panel further noted that even if all the data could be sorted out, it could not be processed quickly or reliably.

Certain elements of the Army and Air Force command have come to the same conclusion. The newsletter *Defense Week*, and then *The Washington Post*, reported recently that the Air Force is planning to place nuclear warheads on a relatively primitive version of this sort of technology, an antitank weapon now in development called Assault Breaker. The reason: Tests indicate that it can't seem to do its job with a conventional warhead.

So far, Congress has denied funding to this plan, thanks to an amendment by Senators Edward Kennedy and Sam Nunn, both of whom argued quite sensibly that making this weapon nuclear violates the whole point of E.T. (The Pentagon has promised to lobby against that restriction this year. "You can't tie your hands around your back," an Army official told *The Washington Post*'s Fred Hiatt recently, "and find yourself with only a conventional weapon when the battle starts to go nuclear.")

Still, the Air Force desire for a nuclear version should open one's eyes to a larger reality: Air-Land Battle is not adopted policy, and U.S. war plans still rely, to a much larger degree than most realize, on nuclear weapons. In fact, the Army in recent years has been stepping up, not slowing down, its thinking on the "integrated battlefield"—the concept of using conventional, nuclear and chemical arms simultaneously to achieve the decisive breakthrough in a European war. What is still very much official U.S. doctrine was summarized in the Army's 1971 field manual *Tactical Nuclear Operations:* "The introduction of tactical nuclear weapons neither negates the principles of war . . . nor causes the development of new ones." In volume one of the new *Nuclear Weapons Databook* series, arms analysts Thomas Cochran, William Arkin and Milton Hoenig point out that the U.S. military continues "to follow a practice of widespread 'nuclearization' of military equipment and units begun in the 1950s." Over 700 U.S. combat units, involving more than 111,000 military personnel, are officially "certified" for nuclear warfare.

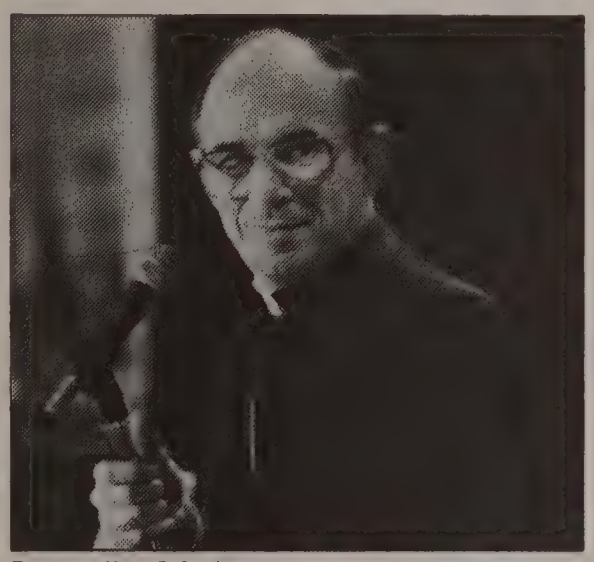
The Reagan administration is expanding conventional military forces, but they are in no way being devised as a substitute for nuclear weapons. □

PHOTO COURTESY OF DOD

BISHOPS BRIDGE ISSUES

Antibomb Equals Antichoice?

It has the ring of an old-time movie teaser: If you liked us on war and peace you'll *love* us on pro-life. Fresh from delivering a major statement on the nuclear arms race (which earned them both respect and notoriety), Catholic bishops in the United States are now advancing a bold new equation—opposition to abortion and to nuclear war as equal and inseparable defenses of human life. The link is being made publicly and repeatedly by none other than Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, who had barely left the chair of the War and Peace Committee when he assumed the chair of the bishops' Pro-Life Activities Committee.



Bernardin: A is for atom—and abortion

This will be a hard sell, given the long-standing differences, even antagonism, between the traditionally conservative anti-abortion forces and the largely moderate and liberal antinuclear movement. But it does offer the potential for converting some pro-lifers to the antinuclear cause.

The U.S. Catholic bishops' war and peace pastoral letter, issued in its final form last May, has become perhaps the most widely considered religious statement in the past decade. An estimated 1.5 million copies of the 45,000-word document have been distributed. It is the subject of programs and study sessions in churches around the nation and the world. Some passages in the pastoral letter assert the pro-life/antinuclear link: "In a society where the innocent unborn are killed wantonly, how can we expect people to feel righteous revulsion at the act or threat of killing noncombatants in war? . . . Nothing . . . can justify direct attack on innocent human life in or out of warfare."

But Bernardin has expanded on this sentiment. During a speech at New York's Fordham University in December he declared "the need for a consistent ethic of life. For the spectrum of life cuts across the issues of genetics, abortion, capital punishment, modern warfare and the care of the terminally ill. . . ." The Catholic principle which prohibits the intentional taking of human life must be honored consistently, Bernardin argued: "Some see clearly the application of the principle to abortion, but contend the bishops overstepped their bounds when they applied it to choices about national security. Others understand the power of the principle in the strategic debate, but find its application to abortion a violation of the realm of private choice. I contend the viability of the principle depends upon the consistency of its application."

This linkage has already drawn fire. An archconservative Catholic newspaper, *The Wanderer*, complained, "If the bishops persist in this bit of mischief, the real pro-life movement will be set back years." So far, antinuclear organizations have neither publicly accepted nor taken exception to the bishops' twinning of the issues.

Juli Loesch is following this debate closely. In 1979 she founded Prolifers for Survival, a national group that opposes both abortion and nuclear arms as indefensible assaults on life. Loesch, who lives in Erie, Pennsylvania, but lectures widely, says she has been called a "racist, sexist, classist, antichoice reactionary" by the left, and a "pacifist parasite" by the right. Her group's membership of 2500 may be small compared to many antinuclear and anti-abortion groups, but it does prove that some people can move from strongly opposing either abortion or nuclear arms to strongly opposing both.

How does Loesch explain those who do? "No one wants to be hypocritical or inconsistent," she says. Prolifers' membership ranges "from Marxists to Moral Majority members," Loesch says. Peace activists Robert Aldridge, James Forest of International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Reverend Daniel Berrigan, among others, serve as advisers.

Some crossover on the nuclear and abortion issues is taking place in Catholic circles. Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen—a prominent "peace bishop" whose archdiocesan Respect Life Committee once resigned because it considered him irresolute on the anti-abortion issue—recently lectured a Physicians for Social Responsibility audience in Seattle on the inconsistency of opposing nuclear war but not abortion. And in January a joint Catholic-Jewish Respect Life group in Los Angeles called for the abolition of nuclear weapons and a stop to preparations for nuclear war. **—Patty Edmonds**

Patty Edmonds is national affairs editor of the National Catholic Reporter.

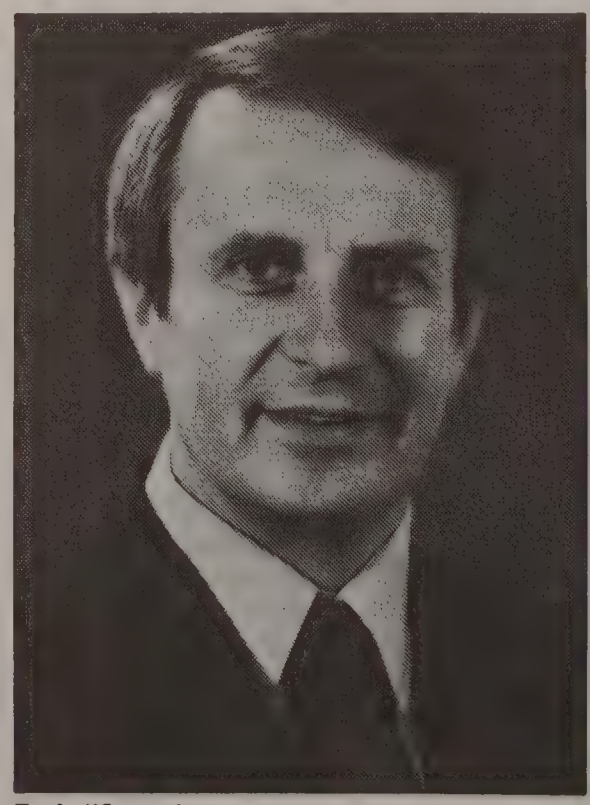
ON WISCONSIN

Governor Urges Civil Disobedience

Summonses to mass protest and civil disobedience don't usually attract attention in Wisconsin, least of all at the state university in Madison, which witnessed plenty of both during the Vietnam War and still echoes with the rhetoric of campus radicals. But shock waves are still reverberating from the remarks of a guest lecturer at the university who called on péace activists to take to the streets to stop the nuclear arms race. The reason: The lecturer was Wisconsin's governor.

Equally noteworthy is that public response—heavier than to anything else the governor has said or done since taking office a year ago—seems to be running in his favor.

Anthony Earl, 47-year-old liberal Democrat and strong supporter of a nuclear weapons freeze, says that he knew he would be stirring up a storm when he



Earl: "Speeches won't turn the trick"

PHOTO BY JAMES LIEBNER/*NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER* (LEFT)

exhorted a class in "Perspectives on Nuclear War" to take a step beyond the freeze. His speech was prompted by concern over the apathy that seemed to characterize public response to *The Day After*, which had been aired two weeks earlier.

The peace movement needs a charismatic leader like Gandhi or Martin Luther King Jr. to shake things up, Earl told the students. Then he said: "Speeches are not going to turn the trick here. What may be required is a program of actions—mass demonstrations of the type we have been seeing in Europe, and a carefully thought-out campaign of civil disobedience. These have been the models of political action which have carried the great moral issues of the 20th Century, and they can work again."

The immediate reaction in the press was overwhelmingly negative. Editorial writers denounced Earl as irresponsible. The Republican state chairman said he was "appalled and outraged." There were demands for his recall. Friends and supporters kept a discreet silence.

Disconcerted, the governor's aides mailed out copies of the full text and in interviews emphasized that Earl had been referring to *nonviolent* demonstrations and civil disobedience. Earl himself stood firm, telling interviewers he intends to continue speaking out until people "get off their fannies."

Within a few days the tide turned in the governor's favor. Editorial support picked up and letters and phone calls pouring into his office ran two-to-one in his favor. Typical was this response from the state's largest public employees union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME): "Your leadership on this issue can help mobilize Wisconsinites and set in motion more visible forms of activity which can be heard more clearly by the hearing-impaired in Washington, D.C." By late January the governor's staff was cautiously exploring an AFSCME proposal that he meet with labor, religious and peace activists to discuss plans for noncooperation with the nuclear arms race. And on February 26 Earl will introduce a freeze resolution at the National Governors' Conference in Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, a Madison peace group, Disarmament Now, heeding the governor's advice, has been demonstrating in the lobbies of the city's major banks, urging divestment from companies manufacturing nuclear weapons. The group quotes this passage from the governor's lecture: "We need to be the instruments of our own fate if we are to reverse the momentum of the arms race." **—Sam Day**

PLOWSHARES TRIAL

Taking Weapons To Court

July 14, 1983. 7:30 a.m. It's gonna be a hot one. Mary Lyons stands impatiently in the parking lot of the AVCO Systems Division plant in Wilmington, Massachusetts. Across the vast expanse of asphalt, cars glint in the sun as they rush past on Route 129.

Lyons is anxious to get to work. She turns her back on the traffic and follows her friends Frank Panopoulos and Agnes Bauerlein to one of the employees' entrances at the sprawling complex. An AVCO worker reaches the locked door moments before they do and, smiling, holds it ajar for them. Lyons and her two companions walk past the armed guard, through the antiseptic hallways of Building 2, to a courtyard where, without the slightest hesitation, they turn right and head toward a door in Building 4.

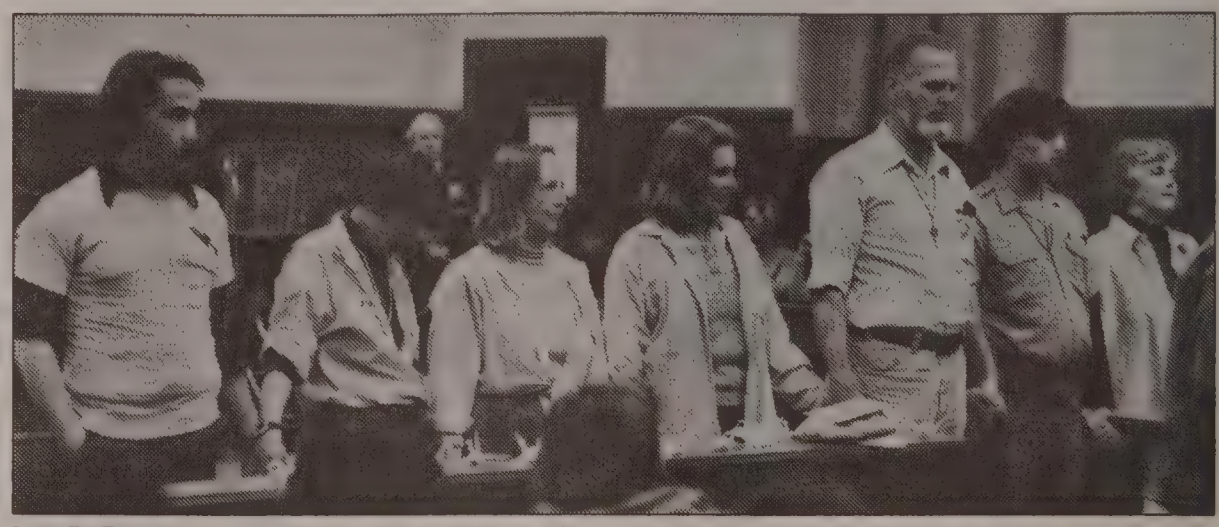
Suddenly Lyons feels a tap on her shoulder; startled, she turns to see another smiling AVCO employee proferring a dropped identity badge. "How did that fall off without my noticing?" Lyons wonders, pinning it back on.

Walking through another door and down a long hallway, Lyons, Bauerlein, and Panopoulos reach the cavernous machine shop in Building 4. On the right side of the room, open doors leading to smaller work areas allow glimpses of AVCO's complex inner circuitry. Lyons notes with particular interest Room 4009, where computers, made largely of glass, line the walls. She knows that these machines, called Thermatrons, are used to test the safing, arming, and fusing systems for Pershing 2 missiles.

The trio walks on to the large, locked doors at the far end of Building 4, behind which Mark 12A reentry systems for the MX missile are made. By now Lyons feels that employees are eyeing her with suspicion, so she separates from Bauerlein and Panopoulos and quickly heads back to Room 4009. Slipping through the door, she takes from her pocket a hammer, marked with the words:

> *They shall beat their swords into plowshares*
> *And their spears into pruning hooks.*

And then Mary Lyons, mother of four, grandmother, and schoolteacher, methodically begins to break open the Thermatrons with her hammer. Glass shatters, and Lyons raises her hammer again, and again; first on one computer, then another, then another. Her mind is strangely lucid and she does not feel afraid.



L to R: Pendleton, Holladay, Morse, Lyons, Schuchardt, Panopoulos, Bauerlein

As Lyons continues to strike the Thermatrons in Room 4009, Bauerlein and Panopoulos, having found a way into the high bay MX area, are hammering on warhead mounts. John Pendleton, Macy Morse, and Jean Holladay, in another area of the AVCO facility, are hammering on telephones and walls, and pouring blood on interoffice memos. And John Schuchardt, the seventh member of what will soon be known as the AVCO Plowshares, is pouring blood on drawings in the plant's drafting room.

Mary Lyons knows that she hasn't much time left. She remembers that she must leave behind pictures of her children, and a carefully prepared statement, and the banner with the words "NOT IN MY NAME." But she's almost finished. Taking from her pocket an 8-ounce nursing bottle filled with the blood of friends, Lyons begins to pour the fluid over the machines, and then on the floor, where she drops her statement.

It is approximately 7:55 a.m.—25 min-

PHOTO COURTESY OF *THE LOWELL SUN PUBLISHING CO.*

utes after she entered the building—when, somewhat messy with blood, Lyons looks up to see a security guard at the door. She watches him take in the scene: the smashed and bloody computers; the deep crimson pools on the floor; the woman standing before him, bloodied, with a hammer in her hand. And then she hears the words that she can't recount, even six months later, without laughing: "What do you think you're *doing*, Honey?"

ARM TO ARMS COMBAT

December 6, 1983. In the old mill town of Lowell, Massachusetts, about 10 miles northwest of Wilmington, the seven AVCO defendants—Lyons, 50; Bauerlein, 55; Panopoulos, 25; Morse, 62; Holladay, 54; Pendleton, 27; and Schuchardt, 45 —file into the district courthouse for the start of the fifth Plowshares trial.

The trial is just beginning, but the AVCO Plowshares are logging their 12th month with the project. Starting in January 1983, the seven organizers attended to the innumerable details posed by the undertaking. Convincing facsimiles of employee identity badges were made, for example. They also obtained floor plans of AVCO from contacts inside the plant.

Every Plowshares incursion has the same modus operandi: Activists enter nuclear weapons facilities with embarrassing ease and hammer or pour blood on MX missiles, Trident subs, Thermatrons, B52s. In addition to the bruised egos of security officials, a fair amount of material damage has been racked up. AVCO officials put their total loss at $12,450, an estimate that many connected with the defendants deem low. (It made barely a dent, in any case, in AVCO's weapons work; the company's Defense Department contract for its MX activity alone comes to over $400 million.)

Plowshares participants are all connected to the Atlantic Life Community, comprised of loosely linked disarmament groups/communes on the eastern seaboard, and largely inspired by the religious activism of the Reverend Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan and Elizabeth McAlister. The crowd gathered for the AVCO trial reads like a veritable Who's Who in Plowshares actions: There's Daniel Berrigan (Plowshares Eight), and Peter DeMott, the sole perpetrator of Plowshares 2, and George Veasey of Trident Nein, and John Grady and Elmer Maas, both from Plowshares 4. And four members of the Griffiss Plowshares show up for the trial, a few days late, but with a good excuse—they were in jail in Rome, New York, having been arrested for assaulting a B-52 at a cruise missile base.

These are people in a peculiar position. Unlike last century's abolitionists who

(continued on page 25)

These Are Nuclear Times

The Newsmagazine of the Movement to Reverse the Arms Race

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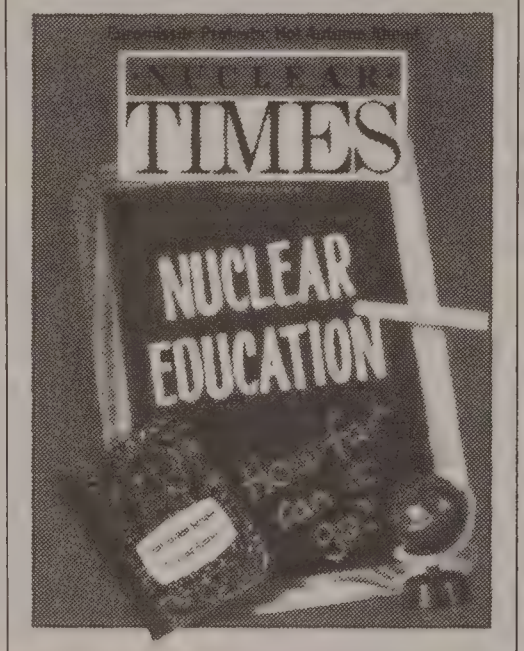

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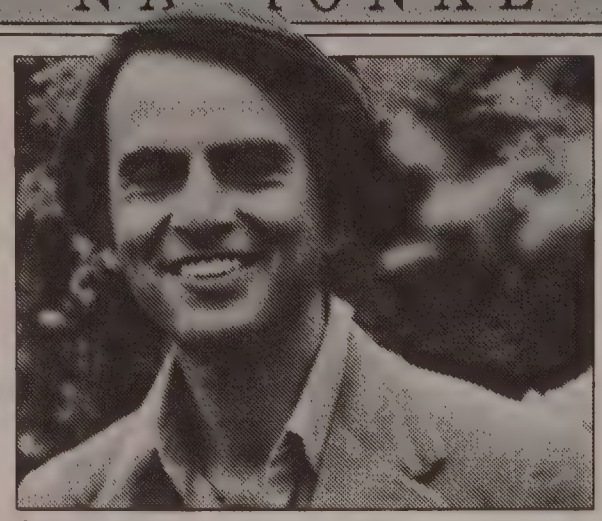
Round-Up

Sagan Plays "TTAPS" For Policymakers

■ It's only been a few months since the concept was introduced, but "nuclear winter" has already claimed its place in the lexicon of the Nuclear Age. The TTAPS study on the effects of nuclear war (named after authors Richard Turco, Owen Toon, Thomas Ackerman, James Pollack and Carl Sagan) noted that it would take a far fewer number of nuclear explosions than previously thought to create a global climatic catastrophe. The threshold figure, the study suggested, is only 500 to 2000 strategic nuclear weapons. The study drew much public and media attention, and now Sagan is trying to extend its influence into the world of policymaking.

Writing in the winter 1983/84 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Sagan discusses the report's strategic implications. His conclusions are not likely to rest well with policymakers. Beyond the "threshold," Sagan writes, "an increase in the number of strategic weapons leads to a pronounced *decline* in national (and global) security." Additionally, all major attack scenarios are rendered meaningless by the effects of nuclear winter, for a "first strike gains no more than a pyrrhic victory of ten days' duration before the prevailing winds carry the nuclear winter to the aggressor nation."

Sagan calls for a variety of measures: treaties that reduce warhead yields (to 300-400 kilotons); de-MIRVing missiles; abandoning nuclear-war-fighting strategies. Above all, he urges that both sides



Sagan: Nuclear winterproofing

reduce their arsenals, as rapidly as possible, to below the threshold level—a more than 90 percent reduction. Sagan notes that George Kennan's proposal of 50 percent reductions could serve as a first step.

But will the possibility of a nuclear winter actually affect nuclear policymaking? Sagan does not appear optimistic. Resistance to "serious consideration of such apocalyptic pronouncements," he observes, is due to their "theoretical basis" and the concern among policymakers that "if it turns out that nuclear war could end our civilization . . . such a finding might be considered a retroactive rebuke to those responsible, actively and passively, in the past or in the present, for the global nuclear arms race."

NFZ Campaigns: Moving Against Nuclear Dollars

■ The unanimous December 13 city council vote establishing Takoma Park, Maryland, as the 35th nuclear freeze zone (NFZ) in the United States unveiled a new strategy in the international campaign to outlaw production of nuclear weapons. The Maryland ordinance included a "Nuclear Free Investment" section, thus becoming the first city in the United States to declare in detail that it would do no business with nuclear weapons manufacturers. Previous NFZ acts had sought to restrict only the production, research, or transportation of nuclear weapons.

Modeled on similar divestment campaigns directed against South Africa, which have been organized on college campuses in the past few years, this strategy will, according to Albert Donnay of Nuclear Free America, "broaden the scope of the movement to resist the arms race." Donnay added that the strategy, in calling for remitting corporation stock involved in the nuclear arms race from community portfolios, "strengthens the economic impact of our work" and extends NFZ applications to churches, schools, and businesses as well.

Meanwhile, activists in California are attempting to place a statewide NFZ initiative on the ballot this fall, and local initiatives are also underway in several cities, including Berkeley, Santa Monica, Novato, San Diego, and Santa Barbara. The Santa Monica effort received a boost recently when the City Council Planning Commission denied a Lear-Ziegler Corporation application for a zoning variance. The weapons manufacturer had sought additional space to accommodate its growing cruise missile work.

Weapon makers take NFZ campaigns seriously. Financial records recently released by the Cambridge, Massachusetts, City Clerk's office indicate that the nuclear weapons industry may have established a spending record in defeating a binding nuclear free zone referendum held in this city last November 8. Citizens Against Research Bans (CARB), the antireferendum group, reported spending $507,708 to oppose the measure sponsored by Nuclear Free Cambridge. (NFC reported expenses of $24,000. The ordinance lost by a 59 to 41 percent margin.)

The CARB effort translated to $17.50 per vote cast, according to Susan Levene of NFC. Citing per-capita figures on previous electoral campaigns, Levene claims this election was "the most expensive in U.S. history." (The previous record holder was Jay Rockefeller's successful $16.17-per-vote campaign for governor of West Virginia in 1980.) Contributions, ranging from $10,000 to $25,000, flowed into CARB's campaign chest from corporations across the country: General Dynamics, Sperry, Honeywell, Northrop, Rockwell International and Martin Marietta. The Cambridge-based Charles Stark Draper Laboratory guaranteed CARB's $250,000 bank loan.

—John Demeter

Wrap-Up

Ground Zero's guide "Hope: Facing the Music On Nuclear War and the 1984 Elections," now available from Long Shadow Books, features titles of dozens of rock songs (such as "Back Off Boogaloo") as chapter headings .... **Common Cause** has come out with a 90-page guide, not on the defense budget itself, but on the "process" by which it comes to pass, called "Defense Dollars and Sense" .... In what it calls the largest commitment by any foundation for work on avoidance of nuclear war ($5-7 million annually), the **Carnegie Corporation** has announced a wide-ranging program that will feature special efforts to improve communication between scientists and scholars in the United States and the Soviet Union .... Over 5300 people were arrested in civil disobedience actions in 1983, up from 4500 in 1982, according to **Nuclear Resister** .... This year's **Peace With Justice Week**, sponsored by many leading religious-oriented organizations, will take place May 5–13 .... The controversial study by Dr. Carl Johnson, which found that fallout from atomic tests caused an excess of cancer among Mormons in Utah, gained credibility when it was published in the January 13 issue of **The Journal of the American Medical Association** .... A spokesman for NATO charged in mid-January that the Soviet Union has deployed a battery of nine new **SS-20 missiles** in the eastern Soviet Union since suspending the INF talks in November.

PHOTO BY BILL RAY

BY BARRY M. CASPER

Taxation With Representation

As a result of a binding referendum to amend the Baltimore city charter, that city has become the first in the nation to require its city council to issue an annual report on the federal taxes city residents pay for military spending. The referendum obliges the council each year to publish in at least five newspapers both the total and the average per capita sums that Baltimoreans' taxes provide for military purposes. Attached to each report will be an appeal for reductions in the nation's military budget and for increases in federal allocations for city jobs, education, housing and public health programs.

In September 1983, the city Finance Department completed its first report, which estimated that city taxpayers had contributed nearly $350 million to the military—$453.81 in military spending for every man, woman and child living in Baltimore—and paid to have it published in 10 newspapers.

All this happened because of the efforts of a small group of people who formed the local chapter of Jobs with Peace in early 1982. Led by Katherine Corr, a Catholic nun who is chair of the chapter, and Bruce Parry, an economist at the University of Baltimore, a core group of eight chose the referendum campaign as their first project.

Once the proposal was on the ballot, it attracted a great deal of media attention. It was by far the most controversial issue in the 1982 election. Corr's contacts in the churches and in the local peace network were an important source of early support. In November, nearly 60 percent of the voters approved the referendum and it became part of the city charter.

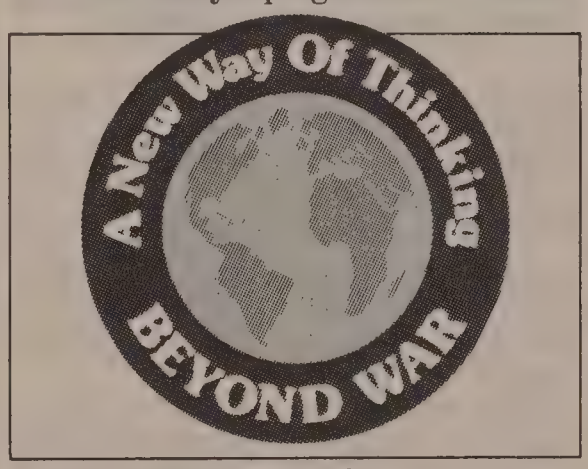
At the same time, a similar referendum, inspired by the Baltimore effort, passed in Pittsburgh. A Los Angeles group, Trade Unionists for Jobs with Peace and a Nuclear Freeze, is gearing up to get the 120,000 signatures needed to put a referendum on the ballot in that city this November. In addition to requiring the city council to publish the sums of taxes paid by Los Angeles residents for military spending, the referendum will require the city to commission a study "which will show the impact on Los Angeles if the dollar amount of military-directed taxes above the 1980 level is applied to local programs . . . instead of to the military." Such a study would be published every year until the military budget is reduced at least to the 1980 level.

Jobs with Peace national campaign coordinator Seth Adler predicts that many groups will pursue this approach in the future. However, some may choose to wait until after 1984, preferring to direct their electoral activities this year to the presidential and congressional elections. For further information, contact Seth Adler, Jobs with Peace National Network, 77 Summer Street, Suite 1115, Boston, MA, 02110 (617) 338-5783.

* * *

In several parts of the country, at about the same time, a compelling idea has occurred to a number of people: The movement against nuclear war needs a symbol, a way individuals can express their personal commitment to the survival of our planet and a visible sign that they have joined the community of those working to prevent nuclear war.

This idea surfaced recently in the Freeze Campaign, in conjunction with its "Freeze Fridays" program that it will be conducting every week starting in March. The campaign's strategy committee has proposed that people across the country show their support for the freeze every Friday in the same way, possibly by wearing a special button, a green ribbon or some other symbol. (The committee said it would announce its choice of symbol in February.)



Creative Initiative's unity pin

But at least three local groups have already designed and distributed unity pins or buttons. And, not surprisingly, the symbol each has adopted is a representation of the earth.

The Green Earth Peace Campaign, a coalition of groups (including Common Cause and National Organization for Women, among others) based in Miami, is distributing a solid green button as a "visible demonstration against the nuclear arms race." An accompanying flier explains, "Green is for life and for the earth." A pin designed by a group associated with the Freeze Campaign in Minnesota came out after the showing of *The Day After*. Small and discreet, it depicts the earth as viewed from space, an aqua circle partially covered by white clouds.

The most ambitious effort has been launched by Creative Initiative of Palo Alto, California, a nonprofit educational foundation founded in 1962. A well-endowed group with about 1000 members, Creative Initiative has produced two excellent films, *No Frames, No Boundaries* and *Beyond War: A New Way of Thinking*.

The Creative Initiative pin is a small, handsome metal circle with an outline of the continents. The accompanying "Beyond War Statement" explains, "This pin symbolizes the earth we all share, surrounded by a spirit of good will. When you wear this pin remember, pray or meditate on this thought until it becomes a reality."

Teams from Creative Initiative have been traveling around the country the past six months, conducting three-hour "Beyond War" orientation seminars and inviting people to pledge themselves to the "Beyond War Statement" and to wear the pin as a symbol of their commitment. An estimated 20,000 pins have been distributed.

In many ways the constituency of the movement against nuclear war—tens of millions of people—is more diverse and less easily distinguishable than those of other popular movements of the recent past. Imagine how their power could be enhanced if those people revealed themselves to each other and to our political leaders by wearing a symbol of their commitment to reverse the arms race. To obtain further information or to order pins, contact: Brenda Meyerson, Green Earth Peace Campaign, PO Box 56-1621, Miami, FL 33156 (305) 251-3259; PIN, Minnesota Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-4616; and Creative Initiative, 222 High Street, Palo Alto, CA 94301 (415) 328-7756. □

ILLUSTRATION COURTESY OF CREATIVE INITIATIVE

WEST GERMAN MOVEMENT

Post-Missile Maneuvers

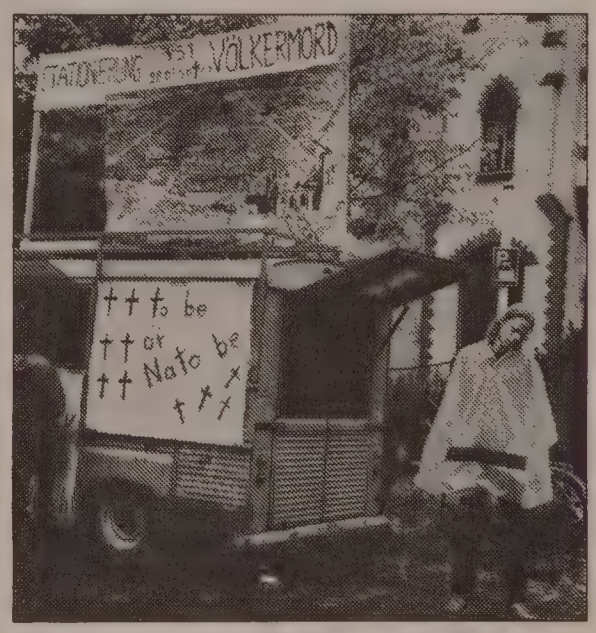
"The missiles are here. Now what?" The West German peace movement has been asking questions about *Nach-nachrüstung* (post-rearmament) for some time. Now that the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles have actually arrived, the debate about the future is sharpening polarizations that existed before deployment.

The main bone of contention is the strategy of "minimum consensus," or broad unity around a minimal demand. Based on an informal agreement among the leaders of the major national peace groups, the consensus called only for rejecting the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. Wider-ranging issues of importance to many peace activists, such as the relationship to the growing independent peace movement in East Germany or whether West Germany should withdraw from NATO were set aside. Both the Social Democrats (SPD), who are recent converts to the antimissile movement, and the Communists (DKP), who oppose the independent peace movements in the East, were able to work together on this basis. The Green Party, on the other hand, has been more interested in raising controversial questions.

The NATO question is the most problematic. Most Social Democrats are against a movement rejection of the alliance, either because they themselves support NATO, or because they are afraid of alienating the missiles' more moderate opponents. But the more radical side of the movement, including many of the Greens, wants to pull out of NATO and end West Germany's role as a junior partner of the United States.

This relationship, they charge, puts an undemocratic restriction on the country's ability to make independent decisions. They point to polls showing that over 20 percent of the people already oppose NATO membership, and that that figure doubles when membership is made contingent on accepting the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. The logical next step, they say, is to rally opposition to all manifestations of the alliance's "better-dead-than-red" theory of deterrence—for instance, the thousands of "tactical" nuclear weapons stationed in the state of Hesse. During the Bundestag missile debate in November, Jürgen Reents, a Green member of the Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee, called for a foreign policy based on neutrality, like that of Finland and Austria.

The leaders of the peace movement's Coordination Committee disagree. Josef Leinen, the personable young SPD leftist who chairs the committee, feels that opposition to nuclear weapons will only grow by means of more mass mobilizations and moderate coalitions. "The SPD will eventually move in the direction of further opposition," he told NUCLEAR TIMES just after members of the party



Germany debates: NATO or neutrality?

had sworn their loyalty to NATO in the Bundestag missile debate. But most Greens think that the Social Democrats' opposition to the missiles is already far left field for that party, and that, if anything, a move back toward NATO norms is to be expected if the SPD wins the next national election and ousts the government of Helmut Kohl.

Many radicals accuse Leinen of running a manipulated bureaucratic machine out of his Bonn office that is impervious to the will of the grass roots. But his committee's success in putting together the massive demonstrations last fall has made it difficult for his opponents to attack him.

However, the Greens, who have often been mistakenly identified in the United States as the main structure of the West German peace movement, may be trying to push forward their kind of politics in the *Nach-nachrüstung* era. Since last summer, they have helped finance the Kassel office of Nonviolent Action, the large grass-roots network of feminists, environmentalists, pacifists and radical youth that was responsible for many of last autumn's direct actions. They are also contributing some $15,000 to pay for trips to Nicaragua by activists who want to contribute to economic development there and join the growing international peace vigil. Their state organizations in southwestern Germany are deeply involved in continuing local protests against the missile bases, such as the demonstration against the Hausen repair facility in Frankfurt, where a Green member of parliament was among those injured by police. And the party's newly elected Executive Committee is determined to play a major role in formulating the movement's future strategy.

But the Green party's own internal split on the peace question could handicap its work. A Gandhian pacifist wing led by members of parliament Petra Kelly and Roland Vogt has long been at odds with the socialist wing over the movement's attitude toward the Soviet bloc. The pacifists—and many other Greens as well—want to condemn both military blocs equally, while the socialists think that NATO is the more dangerous and aggressive of the two, and should be targeted more strongly by the movement. The socialist wing, led by Executive Committee co-chair Rainer Trampert, has criticized some of the pacifists' actions—particularly the protests in East Germany—as ill-conceived and out of line with party decisions.

Critics of the "consensus" wing of the movement feel that its supporters, especially the Communists, may turn their attention to other political activity now that the missiles are in. If they are not prepared to take on new questions about European defense and Germany's role in NATO in the *Nach-nachrüstung* era, they could well decide that the missile issue is at an impasse and that the labor movement is once again the best route to social change. While that may mean the disappearance of mass demonstrations for a while, it does not mean the end of the peace movement. The grass-roots activists united in the Kassel network have operated largely independently of the movement's Coordinating Committee. It was activists from the Kassel network who demonstrated in Bonn during the missile debate in the Bundestag, blockading highways and briefly occupying a police station. Their determination in the face of water cannons, barbed wire and some cases of extreme police brutality, showed that they will go on. The long-term question is whether the movement can succeed in further radicalizing a society that has, for the first time since World War II, begun to reject an American plan.

—Phil Hill

PHOTO BY LENA BERTUCCI

Notes From Abroad

With almost 5 million people on the streets this autumn, the European peace movement showed that it's in a position to knock on the doors of power. But the first batches of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles have arrived against the wishes of most citizens of the countries concerned. The challenge for 1984 is to find strategies that will actually change policy.

● In **Britain**, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has grown by 60 percent to about 82,000 members in the last year. By the end of 1983 more than 1000 people were joining every week. At its annual conference in early December, CND decided that realism demands a cautious platform for 1984. The Campaign agreed to "divert resources" to educate its members and the public about non-nuclear, non-aggressive defense systems, to allay their fears about being left unprotected if Britain disarms. It also refused a motion calling for British withdrawal from NATO. It did, however, decide against supporting a nuclear freeze by 949 votes to 916—not because of a lack of solidarity with the U.S. movement, but so as not to dilute CND's hard-won unilateralism.

Meanwhile, the Greenham Common women have built a miraculous leaderless community, which can expand a thousandfold to embrace the base and blockade the gates at only a few days' notice. Their latest triumph, on December 27, was a successful three-woman invasion of the air control tower. The British government now claims that the base is fully operational, but some of the peace camp women say their presence makes the cruise impossible to use. The army, they say, does not dare trundle the missiles' heavy launchers out for exercises, because they know that hundreds of women would turn out to block the roads.

● Activities at **Comiso, Italy**, are winding down somewhat after the Christmas wave of vigils and demonstrations. But the increasing militarization of Sicily, soon to host NATO's Supreme Command for Italy and probably units of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force, could change that in 1984. In Italy as a whole, the peace movement has won over several new voices: the Franciscan friars, several churches and city councils, and even the president of the Republic, Sandro Bertini, who endorsed the antimissile demonstrations in his New Year's Eve message. The Communist Party remains committed to the suspension of deployment, and a popular referendum has uncovered solid pockets of opposition to the cruise among factory workers—90 percent at Alfa Romeo's Milan plant, for instance.

● The Soviet missile deployment in East Germany and Czechoslovakia has triggered a new wave of activism and arrests in **Eastern Europe**. In East Berlin, two members of Women for Peace, Bärbel Bohley and Ulrike Poppe, were arrested on December 12 and have been on a hunger strike in prison since January 1. They had organized an alternative kindergarten and campaigned for conscientious objector status for women, who have been subject to conscription for reserve duty since March 1982. They are now being charged with "treasonous divulging of information" to Western peace activists, an accusation probably chosen to warn Westerners to keep out of Eastern Europe.

Unofficial peace badge, E. Germany

In Czechoslovakia, the Protestant Church has come out against the Soviet deployment, and petitions against the missiles are circulating in factories and towns. Hundreds of signatures have been collected, and the Communist Party daily, *Rude Pravo*, has acknowledged receiving "stacks" of anxious letters. The government has launched a mass media campaign to justify the deployment, and Jiri Wolf, a member of the peace and human rights group Charter 77, has been sentenced to six years in jail. This is the longest sentence given to a human rights activist since 1972.

● As NUCLEAR TIMES goes to press, the International Peace Communication and Coordination Center, a loose network of activists from several countries, is meeting in **Stockholm** to discuss ways of giving the international peace movement a more unified focus. One of the proposals up for consideration is *END Journal* editor Mary Kaldor's international peace platform, which was adopted by the U.S. Freeze Campaign at its national convention in December. Kaldor suggests combining the demand for a freeze on the development and production of nuclear weapons with a demand for the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons on foreign territory. This would enable the European movement to take on the freeze without diluting its demand for a nuclear-free Europe, and the U.S. campaign to take on the demand to withdraw all U.S. nuclear weapons from Europe and the Third World.

—Maria Margaronis

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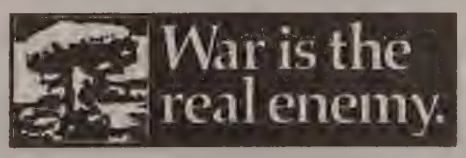

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ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

ART EXHIBIT

"ART FOR AND AGAINST." Exhibit on Issues of Concern. February 5-March 11. *Thorpe Intermedia Gallery, Rt. 340 Sparkhill, NY (Rockland County), (914) 359-6400.*

GOOD READING

PEACEWORKERS, ARTISTS, therapists, scholars explore the intersection of personal lives and global threats in "Humpty Dumpty Report." Quarterly: $10/year. Sample issue $1. *HDR/NT, 84 Anderson, San Francisco, CA 94110.*

Activists, Lawyers, Economists: Learn how the Consumer Price Index is distorted to understate inflation and keep cost-of-living adjustments down. For FREE information send large self-addressed, stamped envelope to: *Mereski, Box 15268 NT, Savannah, GA 31416.* Offer good through Election Day, November 6, 1984. Why isn't your union/group pushing this?

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

NUCLEAR TIMES ON TV

NUCLEAR TIMES and Manhattan Cable will co-host a unique "town meeting" on nuclear war at 8 p.m. on March 8. The program, which will be televised live on Channel L in Manhattan, will feature a distinguished panel being questioned by a studio audience (including members of the local peace community) and viewers at home. Viewers will also participate in a live telephone survey. For details, call NUCLEAR TIMES, (212) 563-5940.

Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast
Submit March and April events by February 6

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

CENTRAL AMERICA WEEK

From March 18–25, a coalition of religious, political, and peace groups will be organizing activities focusing on Central America, including a national training seminar in Washington, DC, a national convocation for religious leaders from Central America and the United States, and a national day of advocacy, featuring a rally at the Capitol and lobbying. March 24 will mark the International Day of Public Prayer and Protest. For an organizer's packet ($3) and more information, *contact:* Interreligious Task Force on El Salvador and Central America, Rm 633, 475 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10015 (212) 870-2511.

TAXING BUSINESS

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee has compiled a list of local groups across the country that are organizing tax resistance workshops and/or counseling. To get in touch with the expert nearest you, *contact:* Kathy Levine, The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, PO Box 2236, East Patchoque, NY 11772 (516) 654-8227.

FILM

In Our Hands, the 90-minute documentary of the June 12 rally, will be opening in Michigan, Illinois, New York, Missouri, Ohio, and Rhode Island in February and March. For dates and locations, or if you wish to rent the film, *contact:* Phil Rosenthal, Libra Cinema 5 Films, 1585 Boradway, New York, NY 10036 (212) 975-0550.

RADIO

In The Public Interest is a radio program syndicated in 50 states. Every day it presents three-minute reports on national and international issues, with an emphasis on the arms race. The 11-year-old show reaches an estimated 9 million. Its commentators include leaders of peace and antinuclear organizations, such as Sanford Gottlieb of United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War and Anne Cahn of the Committee on National Security. Last December NUCLEAR TIMES joined the program as a regular commentator. IPI has also produced a one-hour cassette, "What About the Russians?" For information *contact:* IPI, 303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Av, S.W., Washington, DC 20024 (202) 484-9490.

WMCA For residents of the New York metropolitan area, NUCLEAR TIMES reports daily on nuclear weapons issues for WMCA (570 AM) at approximately 3:50 p.m.

FEBRUARY 11

CONNECTICUT

• **New London** Demonstration, with speakers and civil disobedience, to mark the commissioning of the *Georgia*, a Trident submarine; Naval Underwater Systems Center. *Contact:* The War Resisters League, PO Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360. (203) 889-5337.

IDAHO

• **Boise** Statewide meeting of Idaho peace groups to discuss the new production reactor and election strategies for 1984. *Contact:* The Snake River Alliance, PO Box 1731, Boise, ID 83701 (208) 344-9161.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Columbia** Statewide CLEANvote Convention on how to effectively participate in the political party process; Seawell's Restaurant, State Fairgrounds. *Contact:* Carolina Peace Resource Center, PO Box 50426, Columbia, SC 29250 (803) 799-3640.

WASHINGTON

• **Spokane** Conference, "The Law and Nuclear Arms," with Paul Lembesis, general counsel to the U.S. delegation to the START talks, Mary Kaufman, prosecuting attorney at the Nuremberg War Crimes trials, and others. *Contact:* Katherine Kennedy or John Morey Maurice, Gonzaga University School of Law, PO Box 3528, Spokane, WA 99220-3528 (509) 484-9658 ext 3725.

FEBRUARY 12

NEW YORK

• **New York** Meeting for Asia-Pacific activists to coordinate their work and integrate issues into peace/antimilitarist and electoral coalitions in 1984; Washington Square Church. *Contact:* Nautilus, PO Box 228, Leverett, MA 01054 (413) 549-1709.

FEBRUARY 13

NEW YORK

• **Syracuse** Supportive presence planned for the preliminary hearing for the Griffiss Plowshares Seven; Federal Courthouse. *Contact:* Karl Smith, Jonah House, 1933 Park Av, Baltimore MD 21217 (301) 669-6265.

FEBRUARY 14

CALIFORNIA

• **Costa Mesa** Candlelight vigil to mark the start of the Winter Conference of Aerospace and Electronic Engineers (WINCON); on Feb 15, a direct action is planned; South Coast Plaza Hotel. *Contact:* Orange County Alliance for Survival, 1421 N Broadway, Ste B, Santa Anna, CA 92701 (714) 547-6282.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Wilmington** Interfaith Peace Vigil at AVCO Systems Division; every Tuesday. *Contact:* Center Peace, 550 High St, West Medford, MA 02156 (617) 488-0376.

NEW YORK

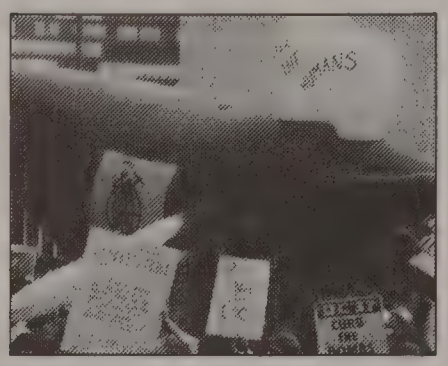
• **New York** Rally against the missiles in New York Harbor, with Rep. Ted Weiss, Capt. James Bush (ret), Councilwoman Miriam Friedlander and singer Ellie Stone: Hunter School of Social Work, 129 E 79 St. *Contact:* New York SANE Council, 15 E 26 St, New York, NY 10010 (212) 683-4151.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Talk, "Economic Conversion and Disarmament: Strategy for Survival," with Joel Yudken, aerospace engineer and program director for California's Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project; Kane Hall, University of Washington. *Contact:* Leslie Barr, PSR (206) 284-4890 or (206) 248-1097.

FEBRUARY 15

• **New York** The Bread and Puppet Theater's *Insurrection Opera and Oratorio* with text based in part on Robert Scheer's *With Enough Shovels;* Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square S, through Feb 26. Volunteers are welcome to "sing, speak, shout and play homemade and classical instruments against President Reagan's nuclear war strategists." Rehearsals Feb 8-14. *Contact:* (212) 673-8464.



A scene from *In Our Hands*, see Nationwide/Ongoing listings

WASHINGTON

• **Poulsbo** Talk, "International Law, Civil Disobedience, and the Courts," with lawyers Lynn Greiner and John Midgley. *Contact:* Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

FEBRUARY 17

MICHIGAN

• **Grand Rapids** Film, *Testament*, with panel discussion; Bijou Eastown Theater, 1470 Lake Drive SE. *Contact:* The Institute for Global Education, 415 Ethel St SE, Grand Rapids, MI 49506 (616) 454-1642.

FEBRUARY 18

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Public Forum: "Roots of War/Paths to Peace," with Lieut. Col. James Dixon, Prof. of Philosophy at the Air Force Academy, James Hillman, former director of Studies at the Jung Institute in Zurich, Switzerland, and others; St. Robert's Hall, Loyola Marymount University. *Contact:* Karen Litfin, Fate of the Earth, Immaculate Heart College Center, 10951 W Pico Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90064 (213) 470-2293.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Fund-raising Valentine's Day Dance Party; Old Cambridge Baptist Church. *Contact:* Cambridge Mobilization for Survival, (617) 354-0008.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Clergy and Laity Concerned Statewide Peace Convention, with keynote speaker Rosemary Radford Ruether, feminist and liberation theologian, workshops, panel discussions, and more; Center Lutheran Church, 333 E Grand St. *Contact:* CALC, 122 W Franklin St, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 871-8033.

NEBRASKA

• **Alliance** Statewide meeting of Nebraskans Opposed to the MX, with movie, *Gods of Metal. Contact:* Jeff Tracy, PO Box 125, Scottsbluff NE 69361 (308) 635-7768.

WISCONSIN

• **Madison** "Rock for a Freeze," with Fallout and other groups; Wilmar Neighborhood Center, 953 Jenifer St. *Contact:* Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, PO Box 1622, Madison WI 53701 (608)251-0582.

FEBRUARY 21

FLORIDA

Sanford Gottlieb, executive director of United Campuses To Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM), and Robert Buchheim, US representative to the standing Consultative Commission set up by SALT I, will be speaking about the arms race and the Soviet Union, through Feb 24. For itinerary, *contact:* Gottlieb, UCAM, 1346 Connecticut Av, Ste 1101, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 223-6206.

GEORGIA

• **Athens** Meeting of the Northeast Georgia Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze with film *A Call to Peace*, and speaker Makini McLain, Southeast coordinator of the Jobs with Peace Campaign; University of Georgia Lutheran Chapel. *Contact:* Tom Clements, Northeast Georgia Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 1010 S Lumpkin St, Athens, GA 30602 (404) 725-7717.

FEBRUARY 22

NEW YORK

• **New York** Public meeting on the Navy's proposal to put nuclear missiles in New York Harbor; Washington Square Church. *Contact:* New York Mobilization for Survival, 135 W 4 St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 673-1808.

• **New York** Conference and Exhibit, "Nuclear War and School Curriculum," with Willard Jacobson, Betty Reardon, and others; multi-media materials will be on exhibit for two weeks. *Contact:* Andrew Sankowski, Resource Center, Milbank Memorial Library, Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W

PHOTO BY ROBERT MAASS/ALMI PICTURES INC.

120 St, New York, NY 10027 (212) 678-3036.

FEBRUARY 24

KENTUCKY

• **Louisville** Slide show on the Seneca Falls Women's Peace Encampment, with reports from local women who visited Greenham Common and West Germany; St. Frances of Rome Church. *Contact:* Eileen Blanton, Peace and Justice Center of the Archdiocese of Louisville, 3940 Poplar Level Rd, Louisville, KY 40213 (502) 451-5451.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Rock Hill** Conference, "Peace and National Security: A Matter of Necessity" with Adm. Eugene Carroll (ret); Winthrop College, through Feb 25. *Contact:* Fr. David Valtierra or Pat Blaney Bright, Newman Campus Ministry, The Oratory, 434 Charlotte Av, PO Box 11586, Rock Hill, SC 29730 (803) 327-2097.

FEBRUARY 25

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Statewide Freeze Conference, featuring forum for democratic Senate candidates, through Feb 26. *Contact:* Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (312) 346-9671.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** "Working Conference on Preventing World War III," with emphasis on Middle East conflicts, featuring Noam Chomsky, Mel King, and others; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, through Feb 26. *Contact:* Mobilization for Survival (617) 354-0008 or American Friends Service Committee (617) 661-6130.

FEBRUARY 26

MAINE

• **Belfast** Talk, "The Church and Nuclear Weapons: Ethical and Religious Issues Raised by Nuclear War Strategy," with Marvin Ellison, Bangor Theological Seminary; St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, 6 Church St. *Contact:* Maine Freeze Campaign Peace Calendar, PO Box 3842, Portland, ME 04104 (207) 772-0680.

FEBRUARY 28

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Conference, "The Role of the Media in the Nuclear Age," with Nicholas Meyer, director of *The Day After*, and author/journalist Robert Scheer; University of Southern California. *Contact:* Karen Litfin, Fate of the Earth, Immaculate Heart College Center, 10951 W Pico Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90064 (213) 470-2293.

MARCH 1–12

TEXAS

• **Statewide** Dr. Marcus Lynch, from England's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, will be touring the state to talk about Euromissiles, the British peace movement, and more. For an itinerary, *contact:* Roxanne Elder (512) 474-2399 or write to Texas Mobilization for Survival, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703.

MARCH 2

FLORIDA

• **Orlando** Statewide Conference/Retreat for the Florida Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, with workshops, films, speakers, and entertainment; Camp Ithiel. *Contact:* Bruce Gatnon, Florida Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, PO Box 2486, Orlando, FL 32802 (305) 422-3479.

MARCH 3

WISCONSIN

• **Madison** "The Next Step—A Grassroots Political Action Training Seminar." Find out what your group can—and cannot—do about the 1984 elections. *Contact:* Marcia Slackman, Wisconsin Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (608) 251-0587.

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Jane Adams Conference on National Security, stressing women's role in policymaking, with Ruth Adams, editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Ann Cahn, executive director for the Committee on National Security, and others; Americana Congress Hotel. *Contact:* Anne Markowitch, Conference Coordinator, 53 W Jackson, Rm 924, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 427-2695.

NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** Annual meeting of Nebraskans for Peace, with budget analyst Gordon Adams and others; St. Timoth's Lutheran Church, 93rd and Dodge St. *Contact:* Nebraskans for Peace, 430 S 16 St, Lincoln, NE 68508 (402) 475-4620

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Concert, with Northwest Chamber Orchestra, dedicated to a "Celebration of World Peace," with conductor Alun Francis; there will be a second concert on March 4. *Contact:* Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-9246.

MARCH 7

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

"The University Lobby to End the Arms Race" will feature a training session for the 1984 elections with Rep. Ed Markey and an afternoon lobbying session with members of Congress. *Contact:* Sanford Gottlieb, United Campuses for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 1346 Connecticut Av, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 223-6206.

MARCH 8

NEW YORK

• **New York** NUCLEAR TIMES on TV—*see Special Announcement*

MARCH 10

CALIFORNIA

• **Anaheim** Symposium, "Prescription for Prevention: Consequences of Nuclearism on American Medicine and Society," with Dr. Helen Caldicott, Dr. Jack Geiger, Mayor Larry Agram, Norman Cousins and Sheila Tobias; Anaheim Convention Center. *Contact:* Orange County Physicians for Social Responsibility (714) 552-5589.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo with Tracey Cohen and Henry Smeal

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PLOWSHARES

(continued from page 17)

aided and abetted runaway slaves, or civil rights activists who broke Jim Crow laws, the Plowshares community breaks laws that are not blatantly unjust. Laws that protect property are the very cornerstone of our society, and most people react to their violation with little sympathy for the lawbreakers.

But it is not civil law that concerns Mary Lyons, or Macy Morse, or John Schuchardt; they are operating on another level altogether. By going into AVCO with their hammers, and their blood, and their words of warning, the seven defendants claim that they were fulfilling their obligations, as world citizens, under international law. The Nuremburg Charter, the United Nations Charter, and even the U.S. Constitution, they say, all outline duties that transcend obligations of obedience to civil law. They feel obliged to fight—in every possible way—all weapons of mass destruction, any machine that threatens humanity.

TRIAL BEGINS

On the first day of the trial, the presiding judge, Edward Viola, quickly assures the seven activists (all of whom plan to defend themselves) that a defense based on international law—a defense the pretrial judge seemed willing to allow—will not be permitted. Viola does state, however, that he will allow a defense based on a common law statute that says criminal acts—such as trespassing and destruction of property—are justified if they are committed to prevent a greater harm.

During a recess Robert Hernandez, the Boston attorney appointed as co-counsel to defendant John Schuchardt (at Schuchardt's request), explains that a recent Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court opinion allows the justification defense to be considered by the jury if the following areas are, in the judge's opinion, sufficiently addressed by the defense: that the defendants acted to abate a clear and imminent danger, that they had reason to believe their actions would be effective in abating that danger, and that they had no legal alternative to abating that danger.

"This is the first time a justification defense has been allowed in a Plowshares trial," Hernandez says, with satisfaction. A silver square stamped with the word "Hiroshima" is pinned to his lapel.

* * *

Week Two: The courtroom is packed. Due to the steady influx of supporters, extra chairs have been brought in from St. Peter's Catholic Church. Several of Macy Morse's grandchildren—she has 19—are playing on the courtroom floor. A few origami cranes, symbols of peace, are perched on the waist-high wooden barriers separating defendants from spectators. Outside in the rain, the chanting and drumbeats of several Buddhist monks can be heard.

An AVCO security guard sits in the back row near a Lowell resident who's curious about the case. This interest does not appear to be shared by significant portions of the local population though; most people interviewed in the street haven't a clue about what is happening in the courthouse on Hurd Street, even though news of the trial has been on the front page of the Lowell *Sun* for days.

> "The laws of the state, when inferior to those of God, must be broken"

"Most of us here are backing the defendants," explains Michael Shupe, an activist who has come all the way from Seattle. "We look at them as the arms and legs of the movement. They're bringing these issues to the nation's attention the hard way—I guess you could call them martyrs." The trial has not, however, attracted an outpouring of support from the "mainstream" New England antinuclear community, many of whose members suspect that Plowshares actions, while impressive on a personal level, are not likely to have much effect on U.S. nuclear policy.

Assistant District Attorney Edward Ropacki has just spent the last few days trying to convince the jurors that the AVCO defendants are simply lawbreakers. For him it is a pedestrian case, involving few witnesses, and easily proved, since the defendants freely take responsibility for trespassing and destroying property at AVCO.

It is now up to the defense to show that the crimes committed were justified. A parade of expert witnesses, each one addressing a specific area of the justification defense, takes the stand. Boston University professor Howard Zinn testifies that lawbreakers in the past—abolitionists, suffragettes, civil rights activists—all changed U.S. policy for the better. Princeton University's Richard Falk adds that the defendants had no legal alternative, since the power and the secrecy of the military-industrial complex has rendered democratic participation in national security policies obsolete. Defense Department analyst Paul Walker, Daniel Ellsberg, and retired Admiral Gene LaRocque each speak about the increased danger of nuclear war brought about by Euromissile deployment.

Much of this testimony is interrupted by Assistant District Attorney Ropacki's objections, which escalate until Judge Viola rules that all testimony on the imminence of nuclear war cannot be considered by the jury. "The imminence of nuclear war is debatable and subject to speculation," the judge says, "and as such, it is an inappropriate topic for expert witnesses."

This prompts the first of a series of eruptions in Viola's courtroom. With shouts of protest from the spectators and defendants filling the room, Viola calls for a five-minute recess and leaves the room. From outside, the wailing of the monks can be heard through the rain.

* * *

When Hiroshima survivors Yokina Joyce and Setsuko Thurlow are called by the defense to speak about the dangers of nuclear war, Judge Viola makes another unpopular ruling and denies them the stand. "It is not relevant to this case," Viola says. "Hiroshima was too long ago."

"But people are still dying today!" Thurlow says.

"Hiroshima is here!" someone yells.

"No, Hiroshima is *not* here," Viola snaps. "I do not wish to waste time. We must follow law, not sympathy, bias or prejudice."

And so Thurlow goes back to Canada without testifying.

* * *

Since they are being charged with malicious damage to property, the defendants are allowed to testify at length about their states of mind on July 14. Each one also takes the opportunity to explain why their actions were justified.

To this end, they bring evidence to the jurors by the bagful. Blood-stained leaflets, indictments of AVCO, the by-now infamous baby bottles, explanations of international law, pictures of children, hammers covered with biblical verses or the names of grandchildren: All of this material passes through the jurors' hands. Some examine the objects with real interest, while others, with expressions of distaste, gingerly pass them on.

Frank Panopoulos cleverly brought with him into AVCO a sheet of paper outlining the jurors' constitutional right to find a verdict according to conscience, even if such a verdict nullifies the law. The defense attorney is prohibited from advising the jury of this right, but because Panopoulos brought the paper with him into AVCO, it is accepted as evidence, and he is allowed to read it.

The seven defendants speak to the jury—and the judge—at great length, touching again and again on why they

went to AVCO, and, more crucially, why they were justified in breaking the law.

Frank Panopolous: "The laws of the state are not superior to the laws of God, and when they are inferior, they must be broken. I would not go down a street breaking windows."

John Schuchardt: "If our action did not have a direct effect in abating the danger, please tell me what I could've done alone or what the seven of us could've done together. Those things that are held out to you—to vote, to lobby, to write to your congressman, when actually he is the congressman of AVCO, of Lockheed—are an illusion."

John Pendleton: "We had reason to believe that AVCO could lose their contract to build the MX because of the breach of security . . . People say AVCO wasn't shut down, and that's true—we didn't destroy AVCO entirely. But we didn't go there to do that —we went in there in part to convey a message to the workers, that they're better than this, that they don't have to build nuclear weapons."

Mary Lyons: "Our protest was against our country's federal nuclear policy, but the federal government has refused to press charges, although there's ample evidence that they own the MX. They are trying to contain us, to hobble our defense by confining us to simple state charges. They are averting your gaze from the real issue."

Macy Morse: "I know too much. And if anyone in this courtroom was innocent before, you're not now."

And so the defense rests.

* * *

DAY 8: Supporters are at their customary post by the courthouse door, holding banners that say, "Choose nonviolence or nonexistence." Upstairs, in the courtroom, a peace activist from Connecticut is teaching a local reporter the art of crane-making. The origami creations have proliferated daily, and by now the courtroom has taken on the look of an aviary. Cranes perch high on the window ledges, and someone has placed one squarely in front of each juror's seat. On the defendant's wooden table, flowers bloom in a Friendly's Fribble cup.

Judge Viola enters the courtroom with news that will make headlines in the Lowell newspaper and the *Boston Globe*. Having heard all of the testimony from the defendants, and from the expert witnesses, he has decided that they have not provided sufficient evidence in all areas of the justification defense. Specifically, they have not amply shown that nuclear war constitutes an imminent danger. He will instruct the jury to disregard all testimony pertaining to justification; they will have to decide only whether the seven defendants trespassed, and if they engaged in malicious damage of property. (Viola also tacks the lesser charge of "wanton destruction of property" onto the indictment, perhaps to serve as a fallback position for the jury should they feel the "malicious" charge does not have merit.)

Viola's announcement is greeted by a stunned silence, immediately shattered by shouts of protest as the defendants rise and stand in a protective ring around attorney Bob Hernandez, rallying to his defense.

"I am not saying that you don't have the best of motives," Viola says. "But by an objective standard, we've heard nothing more in testimony than a percentage factor that some time before the year 2000 there's going to be a nuclear war. That isn't a clear and imminent danger."

"Why not? Why not?"

"Justice is not being served!"

"I do not try to lessen your concern," Viola says. "I do not say I don't wish for peace. But the question of nuclear war is not on trial here. I can neither launch a bomb nor stop one . . . I must work within the system . . . I am told by higher-ups what the law is."

The prosecuting attorney, who a few days before had shown exasperation at such demonstrations, is quietly holding hands with frail defendant Macy Morse, with the court in an uproar around them.

* * *

While the jury deliberates, Hernandez talks about the special difficulties of his role in this case. "There has been tension on many levels in this courtroom," he says. "On the one hand, there is the defendants' idea of justice—they are operating on a moral plane. And then there's the judge's idea of justice, also valid, which is the law of the state. Obviously, this judge has no desire to open up the floodgate—he goes by the book. And then you have me—I'm the delegate who can talk the foreign language of the law to the judge.

"The defendants all have a strong sense of independence which has led them to resist legal argument. They are totally frustrated by the confines of it. How can you reconcile their idea of right with the state's?" Hernandez glances at his watch. "If they were going to acquit, they'd be back by now."

NOT IN MY NAME

After over a day of deliberation, the jury delivers its verdict on Friday, December 16, the 210th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party.

While the evidence and testimony presented at the AVCO Plowshares trial was unusually substantive, the conclusion of the trial is consistent with the outcome of the four previous Plowshares trials. For each defendant, the verdict is the same: for trespassing, guilty; for malicious destruction of property, not guilty; for wanton destruction of property, guilty.

The defendants stand in a circle, holding white carnations and wearing shirts that declare, "NOT IN MY NAME." Although some had expressed optimism for an acquittal, they all appear less distraught than many of their supporters. As the jurors file out of the courtroom, Mary Lyons calls out, over the voices of 80 people singing "Adoremus Te, Domine" (We worship you, oh Lord)—"Lord God, forgive them, they know not what they do!"

After the sentencing—two-and-a-half months for everyone except repeat offenders Mary Lyons, John Schuchardt, and Jean Holladay, who each draw maximum sentences of three-and-a-half months—the defendants are unceremoniously dragged away in handcuffs before friends and families ("I told my wife, 'you're some kind of woman,' " an exhausted Charles Bauerlein says later, "that's all I had time for."). When the courtroom is cleared, some of the participants and onlookers respond.

"Look, who am I to tell the federal government that it cannot defend our country?" argues Judge Viola. "This is not something for a district judge to decide. I think it should be appealed to the Supreme Court, and, for the record, it would not be, I might add, a frivolous appeal." Hernandez, citing a "prejudicial error," says plans for an appeal are already underway.

Andrew Traylor, an alternate juror, speaks to reporters in the courthouse parking lot: "I learned a lot—you couldn't sit in that courtroom and not learn something. But I think all those demonstrations made jurors nervous—they seemed antagonistic."

Rodney Morse, Macy Morse's son, says philosophically, "It's OK. Justice for the longest time wasn't rendered to Gandhi, either." And Martin Holladay, who was with his mother throughout the trial, adds, "The best thing to do for the defendants now is not to grieve, but to go out and *act*."

Hernandez does just that, and by 10 p.m. that evening all the defendants are released on personal recognizance, pending an appeal of the case. Their steep bail is revoked on condition that they "refrain from trespassing at a Defense Department contractor or military establishment within the Commonwealth."

Four days later, on December 20, Jean Holladay and John Pendleton were arrested for praying in the AVCO parking lot. They rang in 1984 behind bars.

—Renata Rizzo

BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

FILMS

War and Peace, written by Heinrich Boll and Alexander Kluge, directed by Volker Schlondorff and Stefan Aust (85 minutes, 16 mm color. Rental negotiable from Linda Duchin, TeleCulture, 80-82 Greene Street, New York, NY 10012, 212-219-2500). This collaboration among several distinguished German writers and film directors combines journalism and fiction to indict the arms race and its effect on Europe. Documentary sequences, composed of news clips and original interviews, lay out the history of (and case against) Euromissile deployment. Particularly striking is an interview with Sam Cohen, inventor of the neutron bomb, and his wife and two teenage children, who say they couldn't "care less" about what the head of their household does for a living. The journalistic sequences are interspersed with four stories. The last, a fictional interview with a general about nuclear warfighting, is almost indistinguishable from a news report.

The Freeze, directed by Barbara Zheutlin (25 minutes, color. Rental: $100 video, $45 16mm, discounts available from Direct Cinema Ltd. Library, PO Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417, 201-891-8240). Originally meant for use by labor groups, *The Freeze* excerpts films such as *The Last Epidemic* and *War Without Winners*, and uses interviews with defense experts and workers at a United Technologies plant in Hartford, Connecticut. The film emphasizes arms-race overkill (one expert points out that even if the entire United States is destroyed in a nuclear attack, our submarines can go on firing nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union for three months) and that today's economically sound countries are not involved in the arms race.

How Well We Meant, directed by Sky Fabin (28 minutes, color video. $35 rental from Immediate Family Productions, PO Box 8164, Santa Fe, NM 87501, 505-983-9492). Last summer the men and women who worked on the Manhattan Project under J. Robert Oppenheimer gathered at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico for its 40th anniversary. Among them were five Nobel Laureates. Interviews with the scientists and clips of I. I. Rabi's sorrowful and impassioned convocation give the impression that most of those present oppose the nuclear arms race, and their colleague Edward Teller's championing of space weapons. The film reports that 70 signed a petition to end the arms race. Groups who use this film may also wish to consult Gregg Herken's account of this gathering ("Mad About the Bomb," *Harper's*, December 1983), which reports that current defense policies actually have ample support among Manhattan Project alumni—albeit not among those of top rank.

COMICS

Washingtoon, by Mark Alan Stamaty (Congdon & Weed, $7.95 paper, distributed by St. Martin's Press). Now in book form, this popular comic strip from *The Village Voice* and *The Washington Post* chronicles the adventures of Congressman Bob Forehead, a former television announcer, as he meets and greets the defense and corporate establishments, including the makers of the dread "credit card bomb," which kills only people who don't carry credit cards.

Nothing to Laugh About, by Len Munnik ($7.95 paper, including postage, from Fellowship Publications, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960). A young Dutch cartoonist's renditions of generals' and private citizens' myopia about the arms race. Munnik's work is featured in the

Dutch daily newspaper *Trouw* and in five Dutch monthly magazines. Munnik, who works closely with IKV (Dutch Interchurch Peace Council, the center of nuclear disarmament activity in the Netherlands), rarely uses captions. He wants his drawings to stand by themselves so that those who don't speak Dutch, or who cannot read at all, can appreciate them.

Trever's First Strike, by John Trever, edited by Gene Copeland ($4.95 paper from Brick House Publishing, 34 Essex Street, Andover, MA 01810). Very funny satire of the nuclear arms race by a former Minuteman launch officer who is now a syndiated editorial cartoonist with the *Albuquerque Journal* and edited by a nuclear weapons engineer who used to work for Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque. Each cartoon is accompanied by the real-life pronouncements of Pentagon officials and other military experts.

NEW BOOKS

Arsenal: Understanding Weapons in the Nuclear Age, by Kosta Tsipis (Simon and Schuster, $16.95 hardcover). For anyone interested in breaking down the advance of nuclear weapons technology into manageable steps in scientific development, this book is invaluable. Of special interest is the chapter on submarine warfare. The book comes with good credentials. Tsipis is co-director of MIT's program in Science and Technology for International Security. Only an expert, at ease with the subject and the story, could write an account of nuclear weapons technology that is this engaging.

The Trimtab Factor, by Harold Willens (William Morrow, $10.95 hardcover). Willens, leader of the 1982 freeze referendum campaign in California, organized business executives against the Vietnam War. He uses "the trimtab factor," a phrase coined by R. Buckminster Fuller, to describe the potential of American business to halt the arms race. Trimtabs are small adjustable flaps on airplane wings and the keels of racing yachts that act like tiny rudders to help balance and steer a craft. They are an example, Willens says, of how "the precise application of a small amount of leverage can produce a powerful effect." Willens calls on business to use its leverage to encourage serious negotiations with the Soviets.

MUSIC

Give Peace a Chance, edited by Marianne Philbin; dedication by Yoko Ono ($8.95 paper, Chicago Review Press). This catalog describes an exhibition at Chicago's Peace Museum, "Music and the Struggle for Peace," and is a valuable and entertaining history of music and musicians' role in the American peace movement since World War II. The catalog opens with a history of John Lennon and Yoko Ono's "bed-ins" for peace that they began after their marriage in 1969. It continues with a look at antinuclear music of the 1980s and profiles of, and personal statements by, musician-activists. Among the most interesting essays are Pete Seeger's "How *Waist Deep in the Big Muddy* Finally Got on Network Television in 1968" (an account of the near-censoring of an anti-Vietnam song), and R. Serge Denisoff's "Origins and Inspirations of the Protest Song." □

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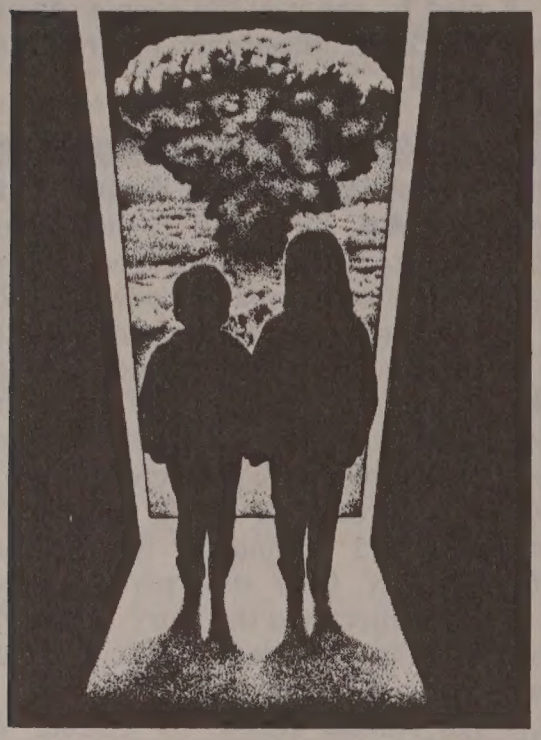
Nuclear & Social Issues Films & Video



Direct Cinema's Exclusive Films & Video**

Eight Minutes To Midnight

A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott
1981 Academy Award Nomination
Best Feature Documentary

This 1981 Academy Award nominated film is a portrait of activist, Dr. Helen Caldicott, the pediatrician and author engaged in the struggle to inform and arouse the public to the medical hazards of the nuclear age.

60 minutes Color 1981

The Freeze

An Overview of the Arms Race

Robert McNamara, Paul Warnke, Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr. and Dr. Helen Caldicott are among the notable speakers to present detailed information and balanced viewpoints on the nuclear arms race, including excerpts from 5 award winning films on the nuclear disarmament issue.

25 minutes Color 1983

If You Love This Planet

Dr. Helen Caldicott on Nuclear War
Academy Award 1982
Best Documentary Short
National Film Board of Canada

In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.

26 minutes Color 1982

No Place To Hide

Growing Up in the Shadow of the Bomb
Narrated by Martin Sheen

Vintage film clips show how America was sold on the idea that nuclear attack is survivable in a fallout shelter. Martin Sheen's narration recreates the nightmares of a child growing up during the cold war.

29 minutes Color 1982

Direct Cinema Home Video*

Atomic Cafe	Film clips from newsreels, training films, and TV shows, which related to how Americans perceived "The Bomb" in the 40s & 50s, are combined in a telling and often ironic juxtaposition.	**China Syndrome**	Jane Fonda, Michael Douglas, and Jack Lemmon star in this fictional story of a Three Mile Island-type nuclear reactor meltdown. Director James Bridges probes the issues of a cover-up of the disaster.	**Being With John F. Kennedy**	A new intimate view of John F. Kennedy traces his progression from young Senator, to winning candidate, through the glories of the New Frontier, to heavily burdened President in crisis, and concludes with the impact of his death.
Coming Home Academy Award Best Actress 1979	This rare movie illuminates with magnificent sincerity the suffering of a crippled Vietnam veteran upon his return home. Stars Jane Fonda, Jon Voight, Bruce Dern.	**Dr. Strangelove** Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb	This classic by Stanley Kubrick presents a humorous and frightening look at the dangers of nuclear war. Starring Sterling Hayden, Peter Sellers George C. Scott, and Slim Pickens.	**The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter**	In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies" recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants and were then dismissed at the war's end.
Fail Safe	After a computer error launches an irreversible nuclear attack on Russia by SAC, the heads of each government struggle to save the world from annihilation. Stars Walter Matthau and Henry Fonda.	**Harlan County, USA** **Norma Rae**	This extraordinary documentary chronicles the lengthy struggles by coal miners to win a union contract. Sally Field portrays a southern textile worker determined to get union representation.	**The Trials of Alger Hiss**	This account details the espionage and perjury case that catapulted Congressman Richard Nixon to national prominence and sent former State Department Officer Alger Hiss to prison.
On The Beach	In this adaption of Nevil Shute's novel, a group of Australians await the effects of a nuclear war that has destroyed the rest of the world. Stars Gregory Peck, Ava Gardner, and Fred Astaire.	**Wasn't That A Time**	Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert and Fred Hellerman, formerly The Weavers, reminisce while preparing for their 1980 reunion at Carnegie Hall. Interviews and music combine for a telling history.	**Vietnam Requiem**	In this ABC News Special, five Vietnam veterans, all decorated war heroes, now serving prison terms are interviewed. The film relays the horrors of war and the unhappiness felt by these heroes.

*Direct Cinema Home Video Cassettes are available in BETA & VHS for purchase only. Preview and rental copies are not available.

**These films are exclusively available from Direct Cinema Limited for rental, purchase, or preview.

For additional information and our free catalogue contact:

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